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ANNALS OF ENGLAND

*A.D. 1603 - A.D. 1660*

*THE STUARTS*



600081991Y







SCHOOL EDITION.

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THE  
ANNALS OF ENGLAND,  
A.D. 1603 to A.D. 1660,  
(THE STUARTS):

AN  
EPITOME OF ENGLISH HISTORY  
FROM CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.

With Notes and Illustrations.

  
OXFORD AND LONDON:  
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1877.

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## NOTICE.

THE School Edition of "The Annals of England" has been prepared to suit the present system of teaching History in Periods, usually one to each Term. Other works having the same end in view exist, but the complaint is often made, that most of them are in reality Historical Sketches, to understand which demands a much more full acquaintance with the details of name, place and date, than is usually to be found among schoolboys. Recognising this complaint as well founded, the Compiler of the present Work has endeavoured to supply a remedy. His object has been to present, in the fewest possible words, distinct statements of the facts on which the generalizations of the valuable Works in question are founded, and thus to supply a material help to their profitable study. To furnish this, in a small compass and at a moderate cost, the text of the Library Edition of the Annals has been carefully condensed, and it is trusted that the result will be serviceable alike to the Master, and to the Scholar. The aim has been, to save the one the labour of supplying the deficiencies of his Text-books, and to give the other a store of positive knowledge essential to his sound progress, but hitherto not readily attainable.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE period of time included in the present Part is a very important one in English history. In a word, it exhibits the natural reaction from the tyranny of the Tudors, not conducted with reason and moderation, but pushed to a ruinous extreme by designing men, who, for a time, were able to set up a still worse tyranny of their own. The writers on the subject are far more numerous than in any former time, but many of them being actors in the scenes they described, impartiality is not to be expected. It is only by comparing, among others, such opposite writers as Clarendon, Whitelock, and Ludlow, Laud and Prynne,—by studying the Collections of Husband, Rushworth and Nalson\*, the State Papers of Strafford, Ormond, and Thurloe, and by examining the Statute-book, the Journals of Parliament, and more particularly the Public Records, that any satisfactory idea of the real history of the Stuarts can be formed.

\* These three writers may be especially mentioned in proof of the necessity of the comparison above recommended. The work of Husband is regarded as impartial, the animosity between the two parties not having risen in his time to the height that it afterwards attained; but that of Rushworth is fairly chargeable with the suppression of important documents favourable to the king, and it was avowedly to supply its deficiencies that Dr. Nalson compiled his own work.

With the above reservation, the following works may be recommended to the student :—

Camden's Annals of James I. (to 1622).

Secret History of the Court of James I., by Osborne, 12mo., *London*, 1658 ; by Weldon, 2 vols. *Edinb.*, 1811.

Sir David Dalrymple's (Lord Hailes) Memorials and Letters relating to the reign of James I. 8vo., *Glasgow*, 1766.

Carleton's (Sir Dudley) Letters during his Embassy in Holland, from A.D. 1615 to 1620. 4to., *London*, 1757.

Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. New ed., 7 vols. 8vo., *Oxford*, 1849.

Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches, from A.D. 1611 to 1639. 2 vols. folio, *London*, 1739.

Whitelock's Memorials of English Affairs. Fol., *London*, 1732 ; 8vo., *Oxford*, 1853.

Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs of Charles I. 8vo., *London*, 1701.

Archbishop Laud's Troubles and Trial. 2 vols. folio, *London*, 1695—1700 ; also in *Ang.-Cath. Library*.

Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion, 1641. 4to., *London*, 1646.

Memoirs of Denzil, Lord Holles (*London*, 1699), Sir Thomas Fairfax (*London*, 1699), and Edmund Ludlow (4to., *London*, 1771), written by themselves.

Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, written by his Widow. 4to., *London*, 1806 ; 8vo., *Bohn*, 1848.

Sir W. Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles in England ; with a Narrative of the Treaty of Uxbridge, 1644. Folio, *Oxford*, 1681.

Husband's (folio, *London*, 1646), Rushworth's (3 vols. folio, *London*, 1659—80), and Nalson's (folio, *London*, 1682), Collections, extending from A.D. 1618 to 1648.

May's History of the Long Parliament. 8vo., *Oxford*, 1864.

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Sprigg's *Anglia Rediviva*. Folio, *London*, 1647 ; 8vo., *Oxford*, 1854.

Mercurius Rusticus ; or The Country's Complaint of the barbarous Outrages begun in 1642, by the Sectaries. 8vo., *London*, 1647.

Querela Cantabrigiensis. 8vo., 1655.

Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, epitomized. *London*, 1862.

Scobell's Acts and Ordinances of general use, made in the Parliament from A.D. 1640 to 1656. Folio, *London*, 1658.

Thurloe's State Papers, from A.D. 1638 to 1660. 7 vols. folio, *London*, 1714.

Calendars have been published of the Domestic State Papers for the whole of the reign of James I. (5 vols.), for part of the reign of Charles I. (14 vols.), and for a part of the Interregnum (2 vols.), all of which will be found to afford most important additional information ; and to understand the great Constitutional issues involved, the Histories of Hallam and Stubbs are, as in earlier periods, indispensable.

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# THE STUARTS.

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Badges of the Stuarts.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE House of Stuart, though it was comparatively late in attaining the royal dignity, was, equally with the Plantagenets, descended from our Anglo-Saxon kings, and in the person of James VI. it succeeded in 1603 to the throne of England. From Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, was descended Robert Bruce\*, whose daughter Margery married Robert the Steward, and their son became king of Scotland, as Robert II., in 1371. Seven kings and one queen of the House reigned in Scotland alone, and five more in Great Britain, their rule extending over a period of 343 years (A.D. 1371—1714), of which the last twenty-six years are, as embracing the reigns of the limited monarchs, William and Mary, and Anne, strikingly distinguished from the long preceding period. This, in Scotland, was harassed during much of the time by contests with England, often caused by the intrigues of France, whose unequal alliance was more disastrous to the weaker state than her hostility could have been. In Great Britain it was, throughout, of a stormy character, from the conflict of regal rights and popular claims, both of them pushed, by designing men, to unwise extremes.

\* See Part II., A.D. 1290.

The Stuarts, coming to the English throne in succession to the Tudors, unhappily received from them a "heritage of woe," and had to bear the bitter consequences of their predecessors' misgovernment. Though in spirit the same as ever, the Tudor rule had become sensibly weakened before the close of Elizabeth's reign, and the Puritans in particular were unalterably resolved to obtain something like the freedom which every one happily enjoys at the present day, but they desired it only for themselves, and had no idea of true liberty<sup>b</sup>. The first Stuart king was of a character particularly ill fitted to deal with the difficult circumstances that surrounded him, and his reign was passed in quarrels with his parliaments, which grew every day more serious, though their ultimate result was hardly anticipated.

The reign of Charles I. is especially memorable for a fierce outbreak ostensibly in the cause of civil and religious liberty, in the course of which the whole fabric of government, in Church and State, both in England and in Scotland, suffered a total, though happily but temporary, subversion. This struggle between the Church and its Puritan opponents was, like preceding convulsions, providentially overruled for good, but the character of the parties to it is too often entirely misrepresented. The State Papers of the period, which are now being rendered, in substance at least, accessible to all, afford the means for a more satisfactory judgment. The reverence for authority, which was the great actuating motive of the royal party, has been unjustly described as a love of slavery, and the Puritans have been held up as the champions of liberty while they were in reality bent on destroying all reasonable government, without which true freedom is impossible,

<sup>b</sup> How little inclined the Puritans were to grant to others the liberty of conscience which they had so loudly demanded for themselves, was shewn by innumerable instances during the period of their unhappy ascendancy. See Note, p. 41.

and the whole course of their conduct shews that the maxim of "No bishop, no king," ascribed to James I., is perfectly just. As the event shewed, it was absolutely necessary to curb them if either Church or State was to be preserved, whilst their stubbornness rendered mild measures unavailing; those taken would probably not have been so severely condemned as they have been, had they succeeded. Though harsh in themselves, they were far less so than the government of the Tudors, and they were justified in the consciences of those who employed them by the duty of upholding insulted authority; hence they cannot fairly be said to have sprung from any purpose of persecution.

Several of the Stuart rulers were remarkable for their talents and their literary acquirements\*, but they are still better known for the uninterrupted series of calamities which befel them. Robert II. was a prince of mild character, whose authority was entirely disregarded by his nobles; his son, Robert III., was a mere tool in the hands of his brother, the duke of Albany, and through his machinations he lost both of his sons, dying himself of grief; James I. passed many years in an English prison, and was at last murdered by his nobles; James II. was killed at the siege of Roxburgh; James III. was slain when fleeing from a field where he had been defeated by his own son; that son (James IV.) fell at Floddën-field; James V. was foiled in an invasion of England, and died soon after; his daughter Mary ended her unhappy life on the scaffold; the death of James VI. (or I.) was popularly supposed to be accelerated by grief at the misfortunes of his daughter and son-in-law (the Elector Palatine); Charles I., after a long civil war, was

\* James I., James V., and Mary were poets, and their works are yet read with pleasure; James VI. wrote on many subjects, both in prose and verse, but with very considerable difference of merit. If the claim of the authorship of "Eikon Basilike" put forward for Charles I. could be satisfactorily established, he also would rank among distinguished writers.



publicly put to death by his subjects, and his sons fared little better; Charles II. regained the throne after years of exile, but by his ill government prepared the way for the expulsion of his brother, James II., who died a pensioner of France. Mary II. and Anne can hardly be regarded as more fortunate, as they only obtained the throne through the exile of their father. James's son (James Edward) and grandson (Charles Edward) attempted to recover their kingdoms, but their efforts were unsuccessful, and Henry, the last of their House, who was an ecclesiastic, and known as Cardinal York, lived a recipient of the bounty of the House of Brunswick<sup>d</sup>.

From the time that England and Scotland came under the same ruler by the succession of James VI. to the throne lately occupied by Elizabeth, the arms of the two countries were borne on the same shield, with the addition of the harp for Ireland<sup>e</sup>. The roses, both red and white, the fleur-de-lis, the thistle, and the harp (all crowned), appear as badges, and the royal supporters have usually been the lion and the unicorn<sup>f</sup>, as seen at the present day.

<sup>d</sup> He died in 1708.

<sup>e</sup> The accession of the House of Brunswick, the Union with Ireland, and the succession of the duke of Cumberland to the throne of Hanover, have caused further changes.

<sup>f</sup> Charles I. employed on his Exchequer seal an antelope and a stag, both ducally collared and chained.



James I., from his Great Seal.



Arms of James I.

## JAMES I.

JAMES VI. of Scotland and I. of Great Britain, was the only child of Mary, queen of Scots, by Henry, Lord Darnl y, and was born in the castle of Edinburgh, June 19, 1566. Early in the following year his father was murdered; in a few months more his mother was obliged to resign her crown, and James was proclaimed king when an infant of little more than a twelvemonth old, July 24, 1567.

His infancy had a rapid succession of governors<sup>a</sup>, three of whom perished by violence, and in his 14th year he assumed the reins of power, but it was only to give them into the hands of worthless favourites, who quarrelled among themselves<sup>b</sup>, yet kept such a correspondence with the English court as obliged their young and needy king to witness the judicial murder of his mother without an effort either to save or to avenge her. His own liberty was abridged, and his life ap-

<sup>a</sup> The earl of Murray, his uncle, was the first; Matthew earl of Lenox (the king's grandfather,) succeeded him; then came Erskine earl of Mar, who was followed by James Douglas earl of Morton, a mere tool of the English ministers; Mar alone of the four died a natural death.

<sup>b</sup> See Part III., A.D. 1580, 1582.

parently endangered, through hatred caused by their misconduct, as at the Raid of Ruthven, in 1582, and by the Gowrie Plot, in 1600.

Though Elizabeth deferred the indication of her successor to the latest hour of her life, her courtiers felt assured that it could be no other than James of Scotland, and they paid their court to him so assiduously in her declining years as to cause her abundant anxiety; at length she died, and James, in his thirty-seventh year, became king of England, without the shadow of opposition.

He was scarcely established in his new kingdom, however, when discontents began to appear. He had, while in poverty in Scotland, made promises both to the Romanists and to the Puritans of something like toleration; but he at once joined himself to the Established Church, which gave them occasion to charge him with insincerity, and, apparently, to unite for the purpose of dethroning him\*. This scheme failed, as did the revolting Gunpowder Plot, and the rest of his reign was passed in coercing his Scottish subjects into a temporary re-acceptance of episcopal government, and in quarrels with his English parliaments; the latter were often hastily dissolved, and their members imprisoned, but they remonstrated freely on matters both of Church and State, impeached his ministers, controlled his foreign policy, and exhibited unmistakable tokens of that puritanical and republican spirit which led his unhappy successor to the scaffold. Commerce, however, flourished;

\* Some writers have supposed that the alleged conspiracy was really a base contrivance of Cecil to get rid of Raleigh and others, who had courted the friendship of James as eagerly as he himself had done, and were likely to prove successful rivals in the distribution of honours and rewards. Such a supposition ought not to be lightly entertained, but still it is difficult to conceive what objects could be common to Romish priests, Puritans and professed free-thinkers, or atheists as they were then termed; yet such men were found among the conspirators, and James's lenity has been taken as a presumption of their innocence; only the priests and one gentleman suffered death.

the newly opened trade with India was steadily pursued, and many attempts were made by Hudson, Baffin, and others, to discover a north-western passage; America, too, began to be systematically settled by the English.

James's conduct towards foreign states was weak and discreditable. There is no reason to doubt that he was personally a sincere Protestant; but his exalted notions of the kingly dignity<sup>d</sup> led him to side with the Romanists rather than the Protestants, from dislike to the republican form of government\*. On the same ground he eagerly sought alliances for his sons with the royal families of France and Spain, regardless of the apprehensions of his people on the score of religion; and to attain his ends he did not hesitate to sign treaties promising a toleration of Romanism, which was directly contrary to the statutes of his kingdom, and could only have been carried out by his exercising the power he was so unwise as sometimes to claim, of being superior to all law. His project failed as regarded Spain, and he was involved in a war against that power (reluctantly undertaken, though the dominions of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, were at stake<sup>e</sup>;) at the time of his death, which occurred at his hunting-seat of Theobalds, near Cheshunt, March 27, 1625. He was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster.

James married, in 1590, Anne of Denmark, daughter of Frederic II. She was born in 1574, was handsome, active, and intriguing, but seems to have had far less influence over her husband than his unworthy favourites,

<sup>d</sup> He told his parliament, that as it was blasphemy to question what the Almighty could do by His power, so it was sedition to inquire what a king could do by virtue of his prerogative.

<sup>e</sup> He was easily persuaded that the Hollanders, as successful rebels, were "an ill example for a monarch to cherish."

<sup>f</sup> A quarrel concerning Church property in Bohemia, between the Romanists and the Protestants, induced the latter to attempt to throw off the rule of the house of Austria; the Elector Palatine was chosen king by the insurgents, but the attempt miscarried, and in the end he lost even his paternal states, dying broken-hearted in the year 1632.

CARR<sup>s</sup> and VILLIERS<sup>b</sup>, exercised. She was fond of pomp and pageantry, involved James in difficulties through her extravagant expenses, and was suspected of carrying on a secret correspondence with Rome<sup>1</sup>. She died March 1, 1619, and was buried at Westminster, May 13.

Their children were,—

Henry, born Feb. 19, 1593, to whom Queen Elizabeth was godmother. He was created prince of Wales, and made a knight in 1610, on which occasion a feudal aid was demanded, and reluctantly paid, though the young prince was himself popular, being looked on as likely to prove an enterprising king. He died, greatly regretted, Nov. 5, 1612.

CHARLES became king.

Elizabeth, born Aug. 19, 1596, was married Feb. 14, 1613, to the Elector Palatine; she became for a short

<sup>s</sup> Robert Carr, a younger son of a family on the Scottish border that had suffered in the cause of Mary of Scotland, was early received as the king's page, and was knighted at his coronation in England. The high offices of lord-treasurer and lord-chamberlain were soon bestowed on him, he was made a knight of the Garter, and created viscount Rochester and earl of Somerset. He at length contracted an infamous marriage with Frances, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, the divorced wife of the earl of Essex, and from this circumstance his ruin may be dated. He and his wife were convicted in 1616 of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, who had opposed their union, though it seems probable that she only was guilty. Somerset was imprisoned until 1621, and being then released, lived in comparative poverty to the time of his death, in 1645, his wretched wife, who had confessed herself a murderess, having died in 1632.

<sup>b</sup> George Villiers, the son of a Leicestershire knight, was born in 1592. He was early sent abroad, and on his return in 1615, he attracted James's notice, was made a gentleman of the chamber, and so grew in favour, that in less than three years he was appointed master of the horse, knight of the Garter, chief justice in eyre north of Trent, Lord Whaddon, Viscount Villiers, and earl of Buckingham. He afterwards attained the higher dignities of marquis and duke, and was as great a favourite with Charles I. as he had been with his father. His conduct, however, had a very unhappy influence on the relations between Charles and his people; he was impeached, and, though screened from parliamentary vengeance by his master, fell a victim to assassination, Aug. 23, 1628. He had married the daughter of the earl of Rutland, a rich heiress, and he left two sons, one killed in the civil war, and the other the profligate minister of Charles II., condemned to an odious immortality as the Zimri of Dryden.

<sup>1</sup> She is said to have received large sums from the Romish nobility and gentry, to procure them relief from the various penal laws; in consequence, their enactments were, in general, only enforced against the poor recusants, with whom the prisons were crowded.

time queen of Bohemia, and, after a life of great vicissitudes, died in London, Feb. 12, 1662. The princes Rupert and Maurice, who bore a conspicuous part in the civil wars, were her sons; and her daughter Sophia was the mother of the first king of the House of Brunswick, George I.

Robert, Mary, Margaret and Sophia died young.

A material alteration in the royal arms marked the reign of this king. France and England appear in the first and four quarters, counter-quartered; Scotland in the second; Ireland in the third; all within the garter, and crowned. The Scottish unicorn became the sinister supporter, Elizabeth's motto was soon replaced by "BE-ATI PACIFICI;" and the thistle, sometimes dimidiated with the rose, appeared in addition to her royal badges.

In judging of the character of James, it is necessary to make ample allowance for the unfavourable circumstances under which he grew up. He never experienced a parent's care, and he fell early into the hands of worthless favourites. His poverty rendered him a mere tool in the hands of the unprincipled English ministers, and he was obliged to submit to many mortifications at the hands of his native subjects, which gave him a fixed dislike to Presbyterianism. When he came to England, the clergy of the Church offered, by their deferential manner, and their expressed admiration of his learning, a gratifying contrast to the stern, if not rude behaviour of the Scots; he resolved at once to identify himself with episcopacy, and was easily persuaded that its enemies were also enemies to monarchy. Events have proved that this conclusion was perfectly just, but James did not possess the firmness to curb his parliaments as his predecessor had done, and his imprudent measures only prepared the way for the ruin of the state.

James had been carefully educated by the celebrated

George Buchanan, and he was the author of several works, both in prose and poetry, which, though now censured as pedantic, shew him to have possessed a cultivated mind, and a style quite equal to the generality of writers of his time; he also aspired to theological learning, and he founded a seminary for champions in the Romish controversy<sup>1</sup>. His amusements, however, were of the coarsest description, cock-fighting, bull, bear, and lion-baiting<sup>2</sup>; and the more ordinary field sports occupied his time to the utter neglect of public affairs<sup>3</sup>, which his ministers managed almost at their own pleasure. Though his jealous fears brought his unhappy cousin, Arabella Stuart<sup>4</sup>, to destruction, and his wish for the Spanish alliance led him to sacrifice Raleigh, he was, on principle, averse to bloodshed, and habitually merciful in his dealings with offenders. He was a patron of learning<sup>5</sup>, and promoted

<sup>1</sup> It was founded May 8, 1610, for a provost and 20 fellows, Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, being the originator of the design; the plan failed, and the buildings were never completed. After long serving as a prison they were pulled down in the time of Charles II. and the well-known Chelsea Hospital for invalided soldiers was erected on the site.

<sup>2</sup> Stow, in his Chronicle, records the care taken for the accommodation of the wild beasts in the Tower, and the frequent combats between them and fierce dogs in the presence of the court, in as grave a style as if he were dealing with the most important public affairs.

<sup>3</sup> In answer to remonstrances on the subject, he declared "he would rather go back to Scotland than sit at a desk for a day."

<sup>4</sup> She was the daughter of Charles, earl of Lenox, his father's brother, and was by some lawyers considered to have a better title to the crown than the king himself. One of the objects attributed to Raleigh and others was to raise her to the throne, and she was in consequence held in a kind of honourable custody to prevent her marriage. She was, however, clandestinely united to William Seymour, Lord Beauchamp (afterwards duke of Somerset, like herself a descendant of Henry VII.) in 1610, attempted to escape with him to the continent in the next year, but was retaken, and died a lunatic in the Tower in 1615. She was buried beside Mary, queen of Scots, and Prince Henry, but without funeral pomp, "lest," says Camden, "it should seem to reflect on the king's justice."

<sup>5</sup> Two eminent men of his era may be mentioned, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Francis Bacon. The first was born in Norfolk in 1554, and was a member of Trinity College, Cambridge. He became eminent as a lawyer, was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1593, and long held the office of attorney-general, in which post he shewed much zeal in prosecuting to conviction the earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh, as well as the Gunpowder Plot conspirators, overwhelming all alike with the coarsest language. In 1606 Coke was made a judge, but he fell into disgrace after the trial of the

the present translation of the Holy Scriptures ; and, though weak and vain, he must be considered a kindly-disposed, well-meaning man, although unfortunately a very indifferent king.

**A.D. 1603.** James of Scotland is proclaimed king by the council in London, March 24. Messengers are despatched to him<sup>o</sup>, and he commences his journey for England, reaching Berwick April 6, and London May 7. He is crowned, with his queen, at Westminster, July 25.

Attempts are made to re-establish the Romish worship in Ireland, but they are checked by the deputy (Lord Mountjoy).

A conspiracy to place Arabella Stuart on the throne

murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury, and was removed from the bench. He endeavoured to gain the protection of the favourite, Buckingham, but failing in this, from a vehement defender of prerogative he became conspicuous for his opposition to the measures of the court. He was in consequence imprisoned at one time, and at another made sheriff, in order to disqualify him from a seat in parliament ; and on his death, which happened in the year 1634, his papers were seized, though without finding anything to justify the levy of a fine on his heir. He was the author of works which are of authority in the courts of law to the present day, but his conduct as a judge has been censured, and as a member of parliament was clearly the result of faction.

Francis Bacon was born in 1561, and was the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and nephew of Lord Burghley. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and when only sixteen was sent abroad in the suite of Sir Amias Paulet, ambassador to France. On his return he studied the law, attained in succession the offices of attorney-general, lord-keeper, lord-chancellor, and was made a peer, as viscount St. Alban's. But this seeming prosperity proved his ruin. Though a profound philosopher, and worthy of the highest honour for his scientific researches and writings, he was a weak, vain, ostentatious man, and involved himself in debts, to relieve which he was said to receive bribes from suitors in his court ; the charge was believed, and, after a brief tenure of office, he was impeached, condemned, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment, though it does not appear that any of his judgments were reversed as unjust. Bacon descended to the most abject supplications to the king, and was soon set at liberty, his fine also being remitted. He lived in retirement for a few years, and then died rather suddenly, April 9, 1626.

<sup>o</sup> Thomas Nevil, dean of Canterbury, despatched by Archbishop Whitgift, was one of the earliest of these, and was gratified by the king's declaration of his firm intention to maintain the Church in the state his predecessor had left it. The Puritans met him on the road with what they termed the Millenary Petition, from the thousand ministers, "all groaning as under a common burden of human rites and ceremonies," who were expected to, but did not sign it ; the actual number was but about 750. The Universities issued formal replies to its allegations, which were also discussed at the Hampton Court conferences.



is discovered. Sir Walter Raleigh, the lords Cobham and Grey, are seized, in July, together with several partisans.

Many new peers created, as also knights of the Bath, and knights bachelor<sup>p</sup>.

Sir Walter Raleigh and the other prisoners are removed early in November to Winchester<sup>q</sup>, and there tried and convicted; but three only are executed<sup>r</sup>.

**A.D. 1604.** Conferences held before the king at Hampton Court, between the archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift), eight bishops, five deans, and two doctors, and Dr. Reynolds and three more of the Puritan party, Jan. 14, 15, 16. Some slight alterations in the Book of Common Prayer are agreed on, and a new version of the Holy Scriptures ordered.

Jesuits and seminary priests ordered, by proclamation dated Feb. 22, to quit the realm before March 19.

Archbishop Whitgift dies, Feb. 29. He is succeeded (Dec. 10) by Richard Bancroft<sup>s</sup>, bishop of London.

<sup>p</sup> The knights bachelor alone, according to Stow, amounted to "three or four hundred." This profusion in the bestowal of honours contrasted strangely with the conduct of the deceased queen, and was made the occasion of popular satire, a new "Art of Memory" being said to be necessary if a man would keep in mind the names and titles now first heard of.

<sup>q</sup> The courts were then held there, in consequence of the plague prevailing in London.

<sup>r</sup> George Brooke, Bartholomew Brookesby, Anthony Copley, Sir Griffin Markham, and two priests, William Clarke and William Watson, were convicted, and Sir Edward Parham acquitted, Nov. 15; Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned Nov. 17; Lord Cobham, Nov. 25; Lord Grey, Nov. 26. Brooke (brother to Lord Cobham) was beheaded Dec. 5; Clarke and Watson were hanged Nov. 29; Cobham, Grey, and Markham were reprieved on the scaffold, Dec. 9. Lord Grey died in the Tower in 1616, and Raleigh was temporarily set at liberty about the same time; Cobham was, after a long imprisonment, released, and died in poverty in 1619; Sir Griffin Markham, Copley, and Brookesby were banished.

<sup>s</sup> He was a Lancashire man, born in 1544. He had been chaplain to Whitgift, having gained his notice by his active opposition to the Puritans at Cambridge, while he was college tutor. He preached a celebrated sermon at Paul's-cross, in 1589, which gave great offence to many of the courtiers, as he truly remarked that the main cause of the complaints daily made against the governors of the Church was the desire to possess their revenues; he was, however, favourably noticed by the queen, was in 1597 made bishop of London, and attended her at her death. Bishop Bancroft bore a leading

The parliament meets March 19, and sits until July 7. The king addresses a speech to them, in which he recommends the union of England and Scotland; professes himself a member of the Church of England; and censures the doubtful loyalty of the Romanists, and "the sect rather than religion of the Puritans and Novellists."

The first act of the parliament was "a most joyful and just recognition of the immediate, lawful, and undoubted succession, descent, and right of the crown," [1 Jac. I. c. 1]. Commissioners were appointed to treat with the Scots for the union of the two countries [c. 2]; the statutes of Elizabeth against Jesuits, seminary priests, and recusants in general, were confirmed [c. 4]; and, to correct an abuse that had prevailed in her days, bishops were disabled to alienate any of the possessions of their sees [c. 3]; tunnage and poundage<sup>1</sup> were granted to the king [c. 33]; and as the plague raged at the time, provision was made for a rate for the support of the infected [c. 31], who were not to leave their houses, "having any infectious sores uncured," under the penalty of death. Another act [c. 12] declared witchcraft felony without benefit of clergy.

The convocation meets, under the presidency of Bancroft, bishop of London. A book of Canons, prepared

part in the Hampton Court conferences, and shortly after becoming primate, he held the Puritanical party in check; the well-known canons of 1604 were prepared under his direction, and he laboured to re-establish episcopacy in Scotland. He died Nov. 2, 1610, and was buried at Lambeth.

<sup>1</sup> These, the original of our present customs duties, consisted, beside some less important matters, of a duty of 3s. on each tun of wine imported, and of 1s. in the pound on the value of other goods; aliens generally paid double. The preamble states that these duties had been enjoyed, time out of mind, by the king's predecessors, "by authority of parliament, for defence of the realm and keeping and safeguard of the seas." Tunnage had been granted to Edward III. in 1372, and poundage to Henry V. in 1415. Both had been granted, in similar terms to those now used, ever since the time of Edward IV., but only for the life of each monarch. Charles I., when they were refused by the Parliament, levied them as on his own authority, a step which had the most fatal consequences.

by him, is accepted by the convocation, and assented to by the king<sup>6</sup>.

A treaty of peace and commerce concluded with the king of Spain and the archdukes<sup>7</sup> of Austria, Aug. 18. The king bound himself thereby to give no further aid to the "Hollanders, or other enemies of the king of Spain and the archdukes," and to endeavour to procure a peace between them and the restoration of the cautionary towns<sup>7</sup>. In return, commercial privileges were granted<sup>8</sup>, and "moderation to be had in the proceedings of the Inquisition" against the king's subjects repairing for trade to Spain.

The king is proclaimed "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland<sup>9</sup>," Oct. 20.

A.D. 1605. Richard Haydock, a physician (of New College, Oxford), who professed to preach in his sleep against certain points of Church discipline<sup>10</sup>, is

<sup>6</sup> These canons, 141 in number, are mainly a republication of older ones, but some new ones were introduced, which authoritatively condemn the dogmas of the Puritans; hence they have been represented, though unjustly, as merely designed to augment the power of the Church. They have never received parliamentary sanction, and therefore are considered by the courts of common law to be obligatory on the clergy only.

<sup>7</sup> Albert, brother of the emperor Rudolph, and his wife Isabella, sister of the king of Spain. As in the instance of Philip and Mary, they were both styled archdukes.

<sup>8</sup> See Part III., A.D. 1585. The king was bound by treaty not to give up these towns to the Spaniards; but he declared that if the States refused to enter into a pacification, he should consider himself at liberty to act as he should judge just and honourable regarding them; meanwhile his garrisons were forbidden to take any further part in the war.

<sup>9</sup> Among these was the liberty of carrying goods from Germany to Spain; but as it was to be apprehended that the English merchants would allow the use of their names and ships to the Hollanders, this was strictly forbidden, as was any connivance of English magistrates, "upon peril of the king's majesty's indignation, loss of their offices, and other more grievous punishments to be inflicted at the king's pleasure." The Hollanders regarded themselves as abandoned; and a dislike grew up between the two nations, which resulted in the massacre of Amboyna, and the naval wars of the time of the Commonwealth.

<sup>10</sup> Up to this period the title of "King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland" had been used.

<sup>11</sup> Like other Puritans he inveighed against the pope, but his discourses were chiefly in condemnation of the use of the cross in baptism, and of the newly-enacted canons. The king had him brought to court, listened to his declamation, and detected the cheat.

convicted of imposture, and makes a public recantation.

Several Scottish ministers hold a synod, without licence, at Aberdeen, July 2, and when questioned by the privy council of Scotland, deny the king's supremacy<sup>c</sup>.

### THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

A PLOT to blow up the king and the parliament with gunpowder is disclosed about the end of October.

This atrocious scheme of a few fanatical Romanists<sup>d</sup> seems to have originated with Robert Catesby, a gentleman of Northamptonshire<sup>e</sup>, who had suffered severely in the last reign for recusancy, and in revenge had been long engaged in endeavouring to bring about an invasion of England by the Spaniards. He appeared likely to succeed in this, an army, to land at Milford haven, and a large sum of money, being promised him, when the death of the queen caused an alteration in the policy of the Spaniards; they wished to detach King James from the cause of the Hollanders, and having succeeded in this, they refused to listen any longer to the solicitations of Catesby and his associates. There being now no prospect of succour from foreign princes, Catesby ventured to suggest to a few chosen associates, and under an oath of secrecy, that they should strike a blow themselves. This was agreed to, though they

<sup>c</sup> Six of them were tried and condemned as traitors, but they were only banished.

<sup>d</sup> Several of them were recent converts. Such was Catesby; he had been engaged in Essex's insurrection, as had Tresham and some of the others, who were all gentlemen of property. Fawkes, though quite as fanatical as the rest, was their paid servant, and had been fetched from the Netherlands by Winter for the purpose, about Easter, 1604. He was a Yorkshireman, born about 1569, and had once been a menial in the household of Lord Montague, but latterly he had served in the Spanish army. He is described by one of the witnesses against him as being a tall man, with black hair and an auburn beard, and was usually taken for a priest.

<sup>e</sup> Of the same family as the Catesbys of the time of Richard III.

had much difference of opinion as to what it should be ; some proposed to seize the king when hunting, and force a toleration from him ; others urged his assassination ; but Catesby was not satisfied with either, and he at length induced them to attempt the destruction of both king and parliament by gunpowder<sup>f</sup>, madly expecting to receive such aid from the Low Countries as would enable them to seize the government and re-establish Romanism<sup>g</sup>.

Catesby's confidants at first were only Thomas Percy, a relative of the earl of Northumberland, and one of the band of pensioners ; Thomas Winter, a Worcestershire gentleman, who had managed the negotiations with Spain ; John Wright and Robert Keys, gentlemen, of London ; and Thomas Bates, a trusted servant of Catesby ; to these was afterwards added Guy Fawkes, a soldier from the Netherlands. They proposed to effect their horrible purpose when the parliament met in Feb., 1605 ; and, accordingly, Percy hired a house close adjoining, where, in December, 1604, they shut themselves in, with twenty days' store of provisions, and laboured until Christmas in digging through the wall, Fawkes, on whose vigilance, as the only military man among them, they greatly relied, keeping watch. They resumed their labours after Christmas, but, finding them-

<sup>f</sup> This plot is usually spoken of as unprecedented in its nature, but such is not the case ; Swedish history furnishes two instances of gunpowder plots, real or pretended. Christiern II. made such a plot the pretext for his barbarous executions at Stockholm, in 1520 ; and in 1533 the regency of Lubeck engaged some Germans to blow up Gustavus Vasa, while holding the diet, but the plan was discovered on the very eve of its execution.

<sup>g</sup> He reconciled to this horrible project those whose fanaticism was less fierce than his own by saying that it would appear like a heavenly judgment when even the very building was destroyed where laws had been passed against their faith. It seems probable that it was intended to warn, in ambiguous terms, members of their own creed not to attend the house at its opening, as was done to lord Montague, and perhaps to others. Whether this was done is unknown, but the earl of Northumberland absented himself from the parliament, as did the lords Montague, Mordaunt, and Stourton, a circumstance considered so suspicious, that they were prosecuted in the Star-chamber. They were all heavily fined, and Northumberland was imprisoned in the Tower till July 18, 1621. See A.D. 1611.

selves unequal to the task, they soon associated Christopher Wright and Robert Winter with them, the whole taking an oath of secrecy, and an engagement not to desist from their purpose, at the hands of Henry Garnett, John Gerrard, and Oswald Tesmond, Jesuits, who, indeed, have been charged with being the originators of the design ; but this has not been satisfactorily proved <sup>a</sup>.

The conspirators found the foundation wall three yards thick ; but when they had worked half through it they were enabled to hire the adjoining cellar, which ran under the Parliament-house, and in this they speedily placed twenty barrels of powder, which had been stored in Percy's house, and afterwards ten more, which they covered with billets and fagots, adding, from time to time, more powder, together with iron bars and stones. Meanwhile the meeting of the parliament was postponed, and Catesby, who had hitherto borne the chief part of the expense<sup>1</sup>, found his funds exhausted. He therefore obtained permission from the rest to divulge their scheme to such as he thought willing to help them, and, in consequence, they were soon joined by John Grant, of Warwickshire, Ambrose Rookwood, of Suffolk, and Francis Tresham, of Northamptonshire, who gave money and their personal help in conveying the gunpowder into the vault, and promised to provide arms and horses for a rising as soon as the plot had taken effect ; some months later the scheme was divulged to Sir Everard Digby, of Gothirst, in Buckinghamshire. He also joined in it, and engaged to make an assembly near Dunchurch, in Warwickshire, under pretence of a hunting match,

<sup>a</sup> It cannot be doubted, however, that they were cordial participators in it. Garnett long maintained that he knew nothing of the conspiracy ; then he said he had knowledge of it only under the seal of confession ; but he allowed that he held it lawful to equivocate rather than confess anything to his own injury. As a natural consequence his denials were disbelieved, and he was tried, condemned, and executed ; Tesmond and Gerrard escaped to the continent.

<sup>1</sup> He sold, among other property, a fine estate at Chastleton, in Oxfordshire, to Walter Jones, a lawyer, who built the present manor-house.

but, in reality, to carry off the princess Elizabeth, who resided at Combe, the house of lord Harrington, in that neighbourhood, and whom the conspirators intended to proclaim queen, if Percy should not succeed in seizing the duke of York<sup>k</sup> (afterwards Charles I.) on the day of the explosion.

As the time finally appointed for the meeting of the parliament drew near, Catesby and the rest prepared to leave London, entrusting the task of firing the train to Guy Fawkes, who had assumed the name of John Johnson, and professed to be Percy's servant left in charge of his master's house. Their plot had been carried on, as they imagined, with profound secrecy; but there can now be no reasonable doubt that the government had long had a sufficiently accurate idea of their design. Both the French and the Spanish governments had apprized Cecil, the Secretary, that some desperate enterprise was in meditation among the Romish refugees in Flanders, and a visit which Fawkes had made to them in the preceding summer had not escaped his notice<sup>l</sup>; still they were allowed to remain in fancied security.

On October 26, 1605, an anonymous letter was delivered to Lord Monteagle, (William Parker, brother-in-law of Tresham,) urging him to absent himself from the meeting of parliament, and was by him submitted to the council. The matter was suffered to stand over, until the king returned from a hunting excursion, when the letter was laid before him, (Nov. 1,) and he professed at once to discover the full meaning of its enigmatical warning<sup>m</sup>; still no open step was taken. At length,

<sup>k</sup> His elder brother, Henry, it was expected would accompany the king and be destroyed with him.

<sup>l</sup> Fawkes confessed that when on this visit he made two pilgrimages to pray for the success of the plot.

<sup>m</sup> The passage said to have suggested the idea of gunpowder was, "Though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them." It seems pro-

early in the morning of Tuesday, November 5, Fawkes was seized in the vault, carried before the council, examined, and committed to the Tower. His associates at once fled to Dunchurch, taking some few friends and their servants with them, to the number of about forty horse. They found there a well-armed party assembled, but all but three of them declined to cast in their fortunes with those of the baffled conspirators. The sheriffs of Warwick and Worcester (Sir Richard Verney and Sir Richard Walsh) arrayed the power of their counties, and Catesby and his party retired in haste to Holbeach house, near Stourbridge, in Worcestershire, the residence of Stephen Lyttelton, (one who had joined them,) where they had resolved to maintain themselves, in the hope of an insurrection of the neighbouring Romanists in their favour. No one stirred, however; their powder blew up, desperately wounding Grant, Keys, and Rookwood; and when the sheriff (Sir Richard Walsh) approached, (Nov. 8,) Catesby, Percy, and the two Wrights, purposely exposed themselves to their assailants, and were shot dead. Thomas Winter, Bates, and the wounded men, were made prisoners; Sir Everard Digby cut his way through, but was soon after captured, as were Robert Winter and Stephen Lyttelton, a few days after.

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**A.D. 1606.** The parliament meets Jan. 21, and sits till May 27.

The king, in his opening speech, declared that he did not impute the guilt of the gunpowder plot to any but the actual perpetrators. His parliament, however, passed acts in consequence, which greatly added to the burden of the penal laws affecting the whole body of Romish

bable that the letter, which is preserved in the Public Record Office, was written, in a feigned hand, by Tresham, who repented of his participation in the plot. He was apprehended soon after its failure, and died in the Tower before he could be brought to trial.



recusants. Beside the statutes 3 Jac. I. c. 1, which appointed an annual thanksgiving on the 5th of November, and c. 2, which attainted "divers offenders in the late most barbarous, monstrous, detestable, and damnable treasons," it passed "an act for the better discovering and repressing of popish recusants," [c. 4,] by which such of them as conformed were required to take the sacrament once a-year at least; their absence from church was punishable by heavy fines, and two-thirds of their lands might be taken instead; an oath of allegiance, renouncing the pope's authority in the most offensive terms<sup>o</sup>, was imposed; to refuse it incurred a præmunire; to go into the service of any foreign prince without having taken it was felony, and the same penalty attached to persons, professedly Protestant, going abroad and declining or avoiding a bond, in £20 at least, not to be reconciled to the Romish Church; persons harbouring recusants, (except parents or wards,) or keeping servants who did not attend church, were to forfeit £10 per month, and houses might be broken open in search of offenders. Another statute [c. 5] banished all recusants from court, London tradesmen and *bonâ fide* residents excepted; persons convicted of recusancy were disabled to hold any public office, be executors or guardians, or practise any of the liberal professions; their widows forfeited two-thirds of their dower; marriage, christening, or burial, otherwise than according to the order of the Church of England, was forbidden under

<sup>o</sup> It attaints by name not only the eight who had been executed, and the four killed at Holbeach House, but also Tresham, who died before trial, and Hugh Owen, who had not been taken; he was an officer in the archduke's service in Flanders, and had been manifestly in league with the rest, but the archduke refused to give him up.

<sup>o</sup> "And I do further swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes which be excommunicate or deprived by the pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whosoever." This oath gave rise to a schism among the Romanists, some taking the oath, others refusing it; the matter was also a subject of controversy between King James and Cardinal Bellarmine.

heavy penalties, as was sending children abroad for education without licence; their service-books, and missals, and relics, were to be destroyed; their arms were to be taken out of their hands, but kept in repair at their expense; and lastly, they were left to the process of the High Commission Court, as persons excommunicate, notwithstanding any penalties that they might suffer from this act.

The gunpowder conspirators are tried before a special commission, at the head of which is the earl of Nottingham (Charles Howard), Jan. 27. Sir Everard Digby pleads guilty; Bates, Fawkes, Grant, Keys, Rookwood, and the two Winters, plead not guilty, "to the admiration of all the hearers," says Stow. Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, are executed Jan. 30, in St. Paul's Church-yard; Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Keys, and Fawkes, at Westminster, Jan. 31.

Henry Garnett<sup>p</sup>, the Jesuit, is tried as an accomplice in the gunpowder plot, and found guilty, March 28. He is executed, May 3.

A national flag for Great Britain announced by royal proclamation<sup>q</sup>, April 12.

Episcopacy restored in Scotland, by act of parliament there. The General Assembly acknowledge the bishops as moderators in their synods, and the king confers on them like powers with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in England. Severe laws are passed in the Scottish parliament against the Romanists.

<sup>p</sup> In the indictment against him he is described as "Henry Garnett, late of London, clerk, a Jesuit, otherwise Henry Whalley, otherwise Henry Darcy, otherwise Henry Roberts, otherwise Henry Fermour, otherwise Henry Philips." The other Jesuits are described as Oswald Tesmond, otherwise Oswald Greneway, otherwise Oswald Fermour; and John Gerrard, otherwise John Brooke. This multiplicity of surnames, whilst retaining the same baptismal name, is an incidental evidence of the strict search that was usually made for Romish priests, and of one means by which they attempted to evade the pursuivants and other officers.

<sup>q</sup> This is a combination of the cross of St. George and the saltire of St. Andrew; the saltire of St. Patrick was added on the union of Great Britain and Ireland, Jan. 1, 1801.

The earls of Tyrone (Hugh O'Neal), Tyrconnel (Roderic O'Donnell), and several of their followers, escape from Ireland, and join the Spaniards in the Low Countries<sup>1</sup>.

The parliament meets Nov. 18, and sits until July 4, 1607.

**A.D. 1607.** The king recommends the union of England and Scotland to the English parliament<sup>2</sup>, but the proposition is received with coldness, and the matter is dropped. One act, however, is passed, [4 Jac. I. c. 1.] by which various acts hostile to Scotland are repealed<sup>3</sup>.

Drunkenness made punishable by a fine of 5s., or six hours in the stocks, [c. 5].

Great numbers of people assemble in Northamptonshire and other midland counties<sup>4</sup>, in May, and throw down inclosures. They are headed by one John Reynolds, who takes the name of Captain Pouch, and are not suppressed without difficulty.

The first permanent settlement of the English in North America; James Town, in Virginia, founded<sup>5</sup>.

**A.D. 1608.** O'Dogherty, an Irish chieftain in Ulster, rises in arms, kills Paulet, the governor of Derry, and defeats several parties sent against him. He is himself

<sup>1</sup> They apprehended that the king had a design to extinguish Romanism in Ireland, and had projected a rising against the government, but it was discovered before their plans were ripe. The vast forfeitures of their lands gave occasion to the new plantations in Ulster, a few years later.

<sup>2</sup> In 1605 an attempt was made to establish peace in the "debateable land" between the two kingdoms. A mixed commission of English and Scottish gentlemen was appointed, and upwards of 100 of the most "noted murderers, outlaws, and thieves,"—especially of the name of Graham—were seized, and sent to serve as soldiers in the cautionary towns of Briel and Flushing; but they soon returned. The minute-book of the commissioners contains a list of no less than 26 clans then standing in feud with others.

<sup>3</sup> They extended from the 7th of Richard II. (1383) to the time of Elizabeth.

<sup>4</sup> Large estates belonging to Tresham and others of the gunpowder-plot traitors, in these parts, had been granted to the royal favourites, who sought to increase them by seizing adjoining common lands. This robbery provoked the neighbouring gentry, and they declined to act against the insurgents, who were only put down by a regular military force.

<sup>5</sup> This was by virtue of a royal charter to a body of merchants called the London Company; the colony attempted by Raleigh had failed many years before. See Part III., A.D. 1585.

killed in battle in August ; when nearly the whole of Ulster becomes an escheat of the crown<sup>r</sup>, and measures are resolved on for its colonization by British settlers.

**A.D. 1609.** A twelve years' truce concluded between the Spaniards and the Hollanders, by the mediation of the king<sup>s</sup>, March 29.

The charter of the East India company renewed for an unlimited period<sup>a</sup>.

**A.D. 1610.** The parliament meets Feb. 9, and sits till July 23.

Naturalized persons directed to take the sacrament as well as the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, [7 Jac. I. c. 2].

A charter granted for the colonization of Newfoundland, May 2.

The king's eldest son is created prince of Wales, June 4. To meet the expense a feudal aid is levied on the people<sup>b</sup>.

Dr. Cowell's book, called "The Interpreter<sup>c</sup>," is censured by the commons, and steps taken to bring him to punishment, which is frustrated by the king pro-roguing and afterwards dissolving the parliament.

Three prelates are consecrated for Scottish sees, at Lambeth, Oct. 21. They were John Spottiswood, Gawin Hamilton, and Andrew Lambe, appointed to Glasgow, Galloway, and Brechin.

<sup>r</sup> A very large part had already been forfeited by O'Neal and O'Donnell.

<sup>a</sup> This event had some unexpected consequences. Many of the seamen, both English and Dutch, who had heretofore preyed on the Spaniards, retired to the West Indies, where they were afterwards well known as the Buccaneers ; while some joined the Algerines and the other Barbary states, became renegades, and induced their new companions to extend their ravages, hitherto confined to the Mediterranean, to the British Channel, and even the Thames. An attempt made to chastise them in the year 1620-21 was unsuccessful, and their continued depredations gave occasion to the first levy of ship-money in 1635.

<sup>b</sup> It would otherwise have expired Dec. 31, 1615.

<sup>c</sup> See Part I., p. 155. Its amount was £21,800, which was very unwillingly paid, as being an obsolete exaction. The minister Salisbury took the opportunity to negotiate with the Commons for the redemption of all similar feudal burdens, but could not effect his object.

<sup>d</sup> The author, who was a civilian, ascribed to the kings of England the absolute power of the Roman emperors, a doctrine very agreeable to James.

The parliament re-assembles October 16, and sits till Dec. 6.

Archbishop Bancroft dies, Nov. 2. He is succeeded by George Abbot<sup>4</sup>.

Wadham College, Oxford, founded.

A.D. 1611. The parliament is dissolved, Feb. 9.

A new translation of the Bible (the present authorized version) completed.

The British plantation or colonization of Ulster is commenced. The plan laid down<sup>5</sup> is but imperfectly carried out.

The order of Baronets of Great Britain established<sup>6</sup>. The first patent, to Sir Nicholas Bacon, of Redgrave, Suffolk, is dated May 22.

<sup>4</sup> He was born at Guildford in 1562, was educated at the free-school there, and then went to Balliol College, Oxford. He became eminent as a preacher, was made master of University College, and thrice held the office of Vice-chancellor. He was one of the translators of the Bible, and, though a doctrinal Calvinist, laboured, under the direction of King James, to re-establish episcopacy in Scotland. His services were rewarded with the sees of Lichfield, London, and Canterbury, bestowed in quick succession, but his primacy especially had an unfortunate effect, as he gave free scope to the puritanical spirit which his immediate predecessors (Whitgift and Bancroft) had kept within bounds, at the same time that he rendered the Church unpopular with many, by pushing the proceedings of the High Commission Court to a degree of severity that they had not before reached, and which was usually ascribed to his morose temper. In 1621 he had the misfortune to kill accidentally a park keeper, named Peter Hawkins; and though he survived this event many years, his influence was extinct. Several bishops elect declined to receive ordination at his hands, (Laud was one,) he was formally suspended from office, under the plea of ill-health, but, in reality, for his opposition to the doctrine of absolute power, which some of the clergy began to preach, and at last he died, worn out with infirmities, Aug. 4, 1633, and was buried at his native place. His brother, Robert, became bishop of Salisbury, and died in 1617.

<sup>5</sup> The lands were to be divided into lots of 1,000, 1,500, and 2,000 acres; buildings in proportion were to be erected on each, and none but British settlers admitted. Much of the land, however, was not taken possession of by the "undertakers," as they were styled, but was allowed to remain in the hands of the natives; on the other hand, some parties fraudulently obtained ten times as much land as they paid for, and the towns that they were bound to build were never erected. The citizens of London received a vast allotment, but did not fulfil all the legal conditions, for which they were prosecuted in the Star-chamber in the next reign. See A.D. 1633.

<sup>6</sup> Its avowed intention was to provide a fund for the defence of the English settlement in Ulster, each knight or esquire who received it engaging to pay a sum sufficient to support thirty foot-soldiers for two years; but this, as well as the original limitation of number to two hundred, was soon abandoned. Baronets of Ireland were established in 1619, and baronets of Scotland and Nova Scotia in 1625.

Sir Thomas Sherley, an English adventurer, arrives in England, as ambassador from the shah of Persia. He is very honourably received, and concludes a commercial treaty.

The king's cousin, Arabella Stuart, is committed to the Tower for contracting marriage without the royal licence<sup>§</sup>, June 5.

A fresh examination instituted as to parties concerned in, or privy to the gunpowder plot<sup>h</sup>.

The English merchants are allowed to establish a factory at Surat; they are attacked by the Portuguese, but beat them off. In the following year they extend their trade to Java and Sumatra.

A.D. 1612. Bartholomew Legate, an Arian, is burnt in Smithfield, March 18; as is another heretic, Edmund (or Edward) Wightman, at Lichfield, April 11.

The minister Cecil dies, May 24. He is succeeded in power by Robert Carr, viscount Rochester.

Prince Henry dies, Nov. 5. He is buried at Westminster, Dec. 7.

A.D. 1613. The Princess Elizabeth is married to the Elector Palatine<sup>i</sup>, Feb. 14.

A.D. 1614. The parliament meets April 5, and is dissolved June 1, without passing a single act<sup>j</sup>.

<sup>§</sup> The marriage had been secretly celebrated nearly a year before (June 22, 1610). Her husband was William Seymour, the grandson of Edward, earl of Hertford, whose unhappy marriage with lady Katherine Grey has been already noticed, (see Part III., p. 140). Seymour escaped to the continent, and returning after many years of exile, took part in the civil war, and eventually became duke of Somerset.

<sup>h</sup> One Timothy Elks, who had been in the service of the earl of Northumberland, charged him with a knowledge of the designs of the conspirators; his statements also implicated Sir Dudley Carleton, a well-known diplomatist. They seem, however, not to have been substantiated, and Elks went abroad in 1613, declaring that his life was in danger from the enmity of the earl, who, however, was a prisoner in the Tower, and remained there until 1621.

<sup>i</sup> A feudal aid was levied on this occasion also, which was conformable to the practice of earlier kings, but this could not reconcile the people to it. It produced but £20,500, while the expenses were above £50,000, exclusive of the marriage portion, which was £40,000 more.

<sup>j</sup> It was in consequence nicknamed the "addled parliament." The Speaker was Randal Crewe, afterwards chief justice of the King's Bench.

Both houses of parliament take the sacrament for the discovery of concealed Romanists, but none refuse, April 7.

A large sum of money is raised by a benevolence<sup>k</sup>.

A.D. 1615. Sir Thomas Roe sent on an embassy to the great Mogul, Jan.

The lady Arabella Stuart dies in the Tower<sup>l</sup>, Sept. 27.

A.D. 1616. Sir Walter Raleigh is released from the Tower, March 19<sup>m</sup>.

The earl and countess of Somerset are tried before their peers, and convicted of procuring the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, May 24, 25<sup>n</sup>.

Briel and the other cautionary towns are delivered up to the Hollanders<sup>o</sup>, May 27.

Coke, the chief justice, is deprived of his office, Nov<sup>p</sup>.

They complained of interference by the court in elections, declined to grant any supplies until various grievances were redressed, questioned the king's right to levy arbitrary impositions and grant monopolies, and clamoured loudly against Neile, bishop of Lincoln, who was said to have justified the exactions, and to have charged the commons with disloyalty. They were dismissed in anger by the king, and several of their members imprisoned.

<sup>k</sup> The clergy freely contributed, but no other class. A Wiltshire gentleman (Oliver St. John) was fined £5,000 in the Star-chamber for condemning such a mode of raising money as contrary to law, reason, and religion. Coke, the chief justice, expressed the same opinion, and this was one cause of his subsequent disgrace.

<sup>l</sup> She had lost her reason through the severity of her confinement, and her unhappy fate is a deep blemish on the memory of James.

<sup>m</sup> He sailed in March, 1617, on an expedition to Guiana, which miscarried, and soon after his return he was, on the complaint of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, whose brother had been killed in resisting the adventurers, committed to the Tower.

<sup>n</sup> Overbury was a courtier of bad character, who attached himself to the rising fortunes of the favourite, but offended him by endeavouring to dissuade him from marrying the divorced countess of Essex, who lay under suspicion of having attempted to poison her husband. To get rid of him, he was ordered to proceed on a foreign embassy, was committed to the Tower for refusing, and died there after a six months' rigorous confinement, Sept. 15, 1613. Weston, a warder of the Tower, and other agents, were executed for poisoning him, but the earl and countess escaped condign punishment. In 1622 they were set at liberty, and the earl survived till 1645.

<sup>o</sup> The States gave pensions to Lord Lisle, Sir Horace Vere, Sir Edward Conway, and the other English officers, and also paid £200,000 in ready money to the king, but the whole amounted to less than one-third of what had been lent them by Elizabeth.

<sup>p</sup> He had been remarkable for his servility to the court. Now, on his disgrace, which he mainly owed to his overbearing and corrupt conduct on

**A.D. 1617.** Sir Francis Bacon is made lord keeper<sup>q</sup>, March 7.

The king visits Scotland, and re-establishes the bishops there in their former rightful supremacy.

The archbishop of Spalatro, (Mark Antony de Dominis, a Jesuit,) conforms to the English Church<sup>r</sup>.

**A.D. 1618.** The king publishes a proclamation, allowing of various sports on Sundays after the hours of divine service<sup>s</sup>, May 24.

The Articles of Perth are agreed to by the General Assembly<sup>t</sup>, Aug. 25.

The Protestants in Bohemia offer the crown to the Elector Palatine, (the son-in-law of the king). His cause is warmly espoused by the English, but the king declines to assist him.

Sir Walter Raleigh is beheaded, Oct. 29<sup>u</sup>.

The synod of Dort held, in which English divines are present<sup>v</sup>.

the bench (he was, among other matters, charged with illegally allowing bail to pirates), he joined the popular party, and became a vehement denouncer of the prerogative.

<sup>q</sup> He was made lord chancellor the next year.

<sup>r</sup> He received the living of West Ilsley, in Berkshire, and was made dean of Windsor, May 13, 1618, but was disappointed in his hope of further promotion. He returned to the Roman communion in 1622, and died in Italy in the following year, when his body was burnt by the Inquisition.

<sup>s</sup> This was commonly known as the "Book of Sports." It was very offensive to the Puritans, and Archbishop Abbot would not allow it to be read in churches, as directed; James suffered the matter to drop, but his successor revived it.

<sup>t</sup> They had been proposed when the king was in Scotland, and rejected, and were now, as the Presbyterians alleged, carried by corrupt influences. The articles were five in number; they ordered the Lord's supper to be received kneeling; allowed of private baptism, the communion of the sick, and confirmation; and directed Christmas and the other holy seasons to be observed as in England.

<sup>u</sup> Papers recently brought to light shew that he had, in his return from America, engaged in a piratical enterprise against the republic of Genoa, but as it was not thought convenient to have a public investigation of the matter, he was executed on the sentence passed in 1603. This, after so many years' respite, was very displeasing to the people in general, as, from ignorance of the facts, he was considered as sacrificed to forward the alliance with Spain; they preferred war with that power, as ultimately came to pass.

<sup>v</sup> The extreme Calvinistic doctrines prevailed here, and the Arminians were condemned without a hearing. The English divines were Carleton,



**A.D. 1619.** The trade of the English and the Dutch in the East India Islands regulated by treaty<sup>7</sup>, July 7.

**A.D. 1620.** Many preachers in Scotland inveigh against episcopal government. They are deprived of their cures, but soon restored.

The king orders Romish recusants to be released from prison<sup>8</sup>.

A fleet is sent against the Barbary pirates<sup>9</sup>, in October, but effects nothing of consequence.

Great numbers of volunteers quit England to support the Elector Palatine. He is, however, defeated by the Imperialists at Prague, Nov. 7, and loses his hereditary dominions.

The Puritans make a settlement in North America, styling the district New England.

The king issues a proclamation (Dec. 24) prohibiting "lavish discourse and bold censure in matters of state."

**A.D. 1621.** The parliament meets Jan. 30, and sits till June 4.

The commons proceed with severity against numerous offenders. One member (Shepherd) is expelled for reflecting on the Puritans; Floyd, a Romish barrister, and a prisoner in the Fleet, is condemned to heavy punishment for indecorous language regarding the Elec-

bishop of Llandaff; Davenant and Hall, afterwards bishops of Salisbury and Exeter; Ward, master of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge; and Balcanqual, a Scottish episcopalian.

<sup>7</sup> The conditions of this treaty were badly observed on both sides. In February, 1623, the Dutch tortured to death several of the English factors in Amboyna, under pretence of their having intrigued with the natives; and reparation for this barbarous act was not obtained until the time of the Commonwealth. See A.D. 1654.

<sup>8</sup> The reason assigned was, that Protestants might thereby receive better treatment in foreign countries; but in England the measure was looked on as only intended to conciliate the Spaniards, with whom the king was anxious to form an alliance.

<sup>9</sup> An attack was made on Algiers in May, 1621, and two or three vessels burnt, but the rovers (among whom were many renegades—see A.D. 1609) captured above thirty English ships in the same year, and they first received effectual chastisement from Blake, more than thirty years after.

tor Palatine and his wife<sup>b</sup>; Lord Chancellor Bacon is impeached<sup>c</sup>, and several monopolists and patentees are prosecuted<sup>d</sup>.

The great seal is bestowed on John Williams, dean of Salisbury and Westminster\*, July 10.

The earl of Northumberland is released from the Tower, July 18.

The archbishop of Canterbury (George Abbot) accidentally kills a gamekeeper, (Peter Hawkins), in Lord Zouch's Park, at Bramzill, July 24<sup>f</sup>.

A second proclamation issued, forbidding "licentious and bold speaking or writing" on state affairs, July 26.

The parliament re-assembles Nov. 20, and sits till Dec. 19.

They grant no supplies, but instead, draw up a peti-

<sup>b</sup> He had rejoiced over the ill-success of "goodman Palgrave and goody Palgrave." The king, however, refused to allow the house to punish him, angrily inquiring, "Are they a court of judicature?" and had him prosecuted in the Starchamber.

<sup>c</sup> The great seal was taken from him, May 1.

<sup>d</sup> Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell, two flagrant offenders, who had obtained, and abused, exclusive powers for licensing alehouses and inspecting inns, and manufacturing gold and silver thread, were degraded from knighthood, fined, imprisoned, and eventually banished.

<sup>e</sup> He was soon after raised to the see of Lincoln. He was born in 1582 at Aberconway, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. Whilst proctor of the University he attracted the attention of George, duke of Wurtemberg, and was by him recommended to the king. He shewed a great aptitude for secular business, became a favourite of King James, and in consequence received from him the great seal. From this office he was driven in 1625 by the enmity of Buckingham, to whom he was not sufficiently subservient. He afterwards opposed himself to the proceedings of Archbishop Laud, was, on light grounds, very harshly treated, and suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower. He was released by the Long Parliament, and, in Dec. 1641, was translated to York; but in the same month he was again imprisoned on account of the bishops' protestation, which he had drawn up. When the civil war commenced he withdrew to Aberconway Castle, which he fortified, and held for a time for the king, but he ultimately made his peace with the parliament, became active in their cause, and, dying at Glothaeth, in Caernarvonshire, March 25, 1650, he was buried at Llandegay, near Bangor.

<sup>f</sup> He obtained the king's pardon, Nov. 22, James observing that "an angel might have miscarried in such sort." But people in general were not so lenient in their judgment. Many candidates for the ministry refused to receive ordination from "hands polluted by blood," and he was virtually suspended from his function.

tion to the king, praying that the laws against the Romanists may be enforced, that he will make war upon Spain in support of the Elector Palatine, and marry his son Charles to a Protestant princess<sup>§</sup>.

The king censures their petition as the work of "fiery, popular, and turbulent spirits;" they reply by a protestation, in which they claim the right of discussing all subjects "in such order as they think proper," and maintain that their members are responsible to the House only for their conduct. The king sends for the journal, tears out the protest with his own hand, and adjourns the Houses, Dec. 19.

**A.D. 1622.** The parliament is dissolved, Jan. 6.

Sir Edward Coke and Mr. Pym are imprisoned, and Sir Dudley Digges, and other obnoxious members of the late parliament, are forced to repair to Ireland against their will, under pretence of the king's service<sup>||</sup>.

An attempt made to found a Romish university in Dublin<sup>1</sup>.

**A.D. 1623.** The treaty for the Spanish marriage is all but concluded by the earl of Bristol (John Digby), when Prince Charles and Buckingham arrive in Madrid<sup>2</sup>, March 7. The negotiations are opened afresh, and at length a public and private treaty<sup>3</sup> are agreed to, which King James swears to observe, July 20.

<sup>§</sup> A treaty had been already concluded (April 27, 1620) for his marriage with the Infanta Maria of Spain; and a toleration of Romanism was one of its provisions.

<sup>||</sup> They were commissioned to inquire, among other things, into abuses said to have been committed in the recent plantation of Ulster.

<sup>1</sup> The establishment, which was on a very limited scale, was allowed to exist for about ten years, but was then closed by the lord-deputy, and the building granted to Trinity College, Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> They left England in disguise, Feb. 18, and taking the names of James and Thomas Smith, travelled with but three attendants, but were soon joined by a large train. The journey is thought to have been suggested by Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador.

<sup>3</sup> There was a material difference between the two. The public treaty only conceded freedom of worship to the Infanta and her household; the private treaty engaged the king to procure, if possible, the repeal of the penal statutes, and if not, to suspend their execution.

The prince and Buckingham return to England, arriving Oct. 5<sup>m</sup>.

The marriage treaty is broken off, and the earl of Bristol recalled to England<sup>a</sup>, December.

A.D. 1624. The parliament meets Feb. 19, and sits till May 29. The king endeavours to prevent the earl of Bristol appearing in his place, but on the remonstrance of the Peers he gives way. The earl then charges Buckingham with causing the rupture with Spain. Buckingham explains his conduct to the expressed satisfaction of the parliament.

Monopolies declared contrary to law, and all such grants void<sup>b</sup>, [21 Jac. I. c. 3].

War is declared against Spain, March 10.

The earl of Middlesex (Lionel Cranfeild), lord treasurer, is impeached by the Commons, at the instigation of Buckingham, April. He is convicted of bribery and neglect of duty by the Peers, May 13, is fined £50,000, and declared incapable of sitting in parliament<sup>c</sup>.

The lord keeper (John Williams, bishop of Lincoln) is also complained of by Buckingham, but the Commons decline to impeach him.

A complaint of false doctrine is made to the Com-

<sup>a</sup> This was made the occasion of great rejoicing, a memorial of which still remains in the chapel of Groombridge, in Kent, which, as an inscription over the door states, was built in gratitude to God for the safe return of the prince. The expense of the journey was £50,027, as appears from a state paper of the year 1631.

<sup>b</sup> The rupture of the treaty was generally ascribed to Buckingham, and he in consequence became popular for a while; but the earl of Bristol eventually exposed the course of his proceedings in Spain, and made it evident that he had consulted his own pride and anger, rather than the honour of his master.

<sup>c</sup> Patents of invention, giving a monopoly for not more than 14 years, were excepted.

<sup>d</sup> He was sent to the Tower the next day, and formally deprived of office May 16. Cranfeild was originally a merchant of London, and had been brought forward by Buckingham, but had offended him by hesitating to sanction his lavish expenditure in the Spanish journey. He defended himself with spirit on his trial, and is believed to have been unjustly condemned. His fine was reduced to £20,000, and he was soon released from prison by Charles I., who granted him a special pardon, Aug. 20, 1626. He lived in retirement until his death, which occurred in the year 1645.

mons against Dr. Richard Montague, one of the king's chaplains<sup>1</sup>.

A proclamation issued, forbidding the sale of books on religion, or on government in Church or State, unless licensed by the archbishops and other commissioners, Aug. 15.

Count Mansfeldt is allowed to raise 12,000 men in England for the support of the Elector Palatine. They are hastily embarked in crowded ships, lose nearly half their number from sickness<sup>2</sup>, and fail to be of any service.

A marriage treaty for the prince of Wales is concluded with France, Nov. 12.

Pembroke College, Oxford, founded.

A.D. 1625. The king dies of an ague at Theobalds, March 27, and is buried at Westminster.

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.
Ostend taken after a three years' siege by the Spaniards.	1604
The independence of the Dutch recognised by Philip III.	1609
The Moors expelled from Spain . . . . .	1609
Quarrels begin between the Dutch and English in India.	1610
The Thirty Years' War commences . . . . .	1618
The Huguenots take up arms in France . . . . .	1618
The Remonstrants expelled from Holland . . . . .	1619
War renewed between Holland and Spain . . . . .	1621
New Amsterdam (now New York) founded . . . . .	1624

<sup>1</sup> In a tract against the Romanists, entitled, "A Gag for the New Gospel," he had denied that the Calvinistic tenets were agreeable to the faith of the Church of England. This gave great offence to the Puritan party; he was summoned before the House, and condemned to silence by the archbishop of Canterbury (Abbot), to whom they remitted the cause. He, however, appealed to the king, and he was saved from any present consequences by the dissolution of the parliament, which soon occurred, but his prosecution was revived in the next reign. See A.D. 1625.

Montague was born in 1578, and was educated at Cambridge. In spite of the anger of the parliament, he was in 1628 made bishop of Chichester (one William Jones, a London tradesman, publicly objecting to the election, but without effect), and in 1638 was translated to Norwich. He died April 13, 1641.

<sup>2</sup> This calamitous event made a great impression on the king, who bitterly lamented having yielded to the persuasion of evil counsellors, and plunged into a war in his old age.



Charles I., from his Great Seal.



Arms of Charles I.

## CHARLES I.

CHARLES, the second son of James VI. of Scotland and Anne of Denmark, was born at Dumfermline, Nov. 19, 1600, was brought to England shortly after his father's accession to the throne, and was, while yet very young, created duke of York and knight of the Garter; on the death of his brother Henry, in 1612, he became prince of Wales. In 1623 he engaged in a journey to Spain, in company with the marquis of Buckingham, in order to conclude a marriage that had long been pending with the Infanta Maria, the daughter of Philip IV., but the project failed, and shortly after his return he succeeded to the throne by the death of his father, March 27, 1625; he was crowned Feb. 2, 1626.

The first great unhappiness of Charles's reign was the evil influence of his favourite Buckingham. The young king had imbibed principles of arbitrary power, which made him regard parliaments only as instruments of taxation; hence his indignation was extreme when his first parliament brought charges of the gravest nature against the favourite, and declined to vote taxes, al-

though the nation was, by its own urgent desire, at war with Spain, until these and other matters of grievance were redressed. By Buckingham's advice they were speedily dismissed, as was a second parliament, which pursued a like course, and the fatal step was then taken of attempting to govern without one. Clergymen were found to enlarge on the doctrine of passive obedience, and to declare in express terms that the king had an absolute right to such part of his subjects' property as he chose to take<sup>a</sup>; judges perverted the law in the same spirit, and tunnage and poundage were levied, although they had only been granted for the late king's life. Forced loans were raised, those who refused to pay being imprisoned, or made to serve as soldiers or sailors, whilst the troops became mutinous for want of pay, and thus compelled a resort to martial law, which was misrepresented as if meant as a threat to the nation in general. In the midst of these difficulties a war was entered on with France, which was generally ascribed to some personal resentments of Buckingham, and in which, though he shewed headlong courage as a mere soldier, he discharged the office of general in a way calculated to expose the nation to contempt.

The expenses of the war obliged the king to call a third parliament in 1628. Their temper was in no manner changed, and, after a sharp struggle, they extorted the famous Petition of Right, in which the exactions and violences of former years were distinctly con-

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Sibthorp preached a sermon of this nature, ("Apostolical Obedience,") at Northampton, Feb. 22, 1627, from Rom. xiii. 7, "Render therefore to all their dues;" and Dr. Roger Manwaring, preaching before the king at Whitehall, maintained that "those who refused to pay the loan offended against the law of God, and the king's supreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion;" he also affirmed that the authority of parliament was not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies, and that the slow proceedings of such assemblies were prejudicial to the just designs of princes. His sermons were published under the title, "Religion and Allegiance;" but they occasioned so much discontent that the king was obliged to suppress them by proclamation, June 24, 1628.

demned; but the royal assent was given with such evident marks of reluctance, that a doubt of the king's sincerity was reasonably entertained. Shortly after, Buckingham was assassinated by a man who gave as his chief reason, the complaints of the parliament against him. Charles was thus more prejudiced than ever against parliaments, and he found two fitting instruments to his design of absolute monarchy in Bishop Laud<sup>b</sup> and

<sup>b</sup> William Laud, the son of a Berkshire clothier, was born at Reading, Oct. 7, 1573, and was educated at the free-school of that town. He afterwards went to St. John's College, Oxford, and even when a student ventured to question the views of the Puritans, which drew upon him the censure of the vice-chancellor, Abbot, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. He at length became chaplain to Bishop Neile, of Rochester, and was by him introduced to the court of James I. Laud accompanied the king into Scotland in 1617, was active in promoting his views as to the restoration of episcopacy there, and was himself raised to the see of St. David's in 1621. In 1626 he was translated to Bath and Wells, and two years later to London, when he became virtually primate, his ancient opponent Abbot having fallen into disgrace, though he did not receive the title till 1633. Laud had ever had the cause of the Church at heart, and when he became a bishop, he set himself to work, with more zeal and good intentions than success, to remedy various evils which had sprung up, particularly the systematic disregard of holy places and seasons in which the Puritans indulged, which had reduced many churches to a condition of ruin, and had in too many places banished all decent order from the public service. Soon after, on the death of the duke of Buckingham, Laud was called to the king's council, and he had thenceforth a much larger share in the direction of public affairs than was suitable to his function; but, according to his own statement, this was against his will. It is certain, however, that he entered zealously on his new duties, and he bore the odium of devising many unwarrantable schemes for the improvement of the revenue, which he assisted to execute. He no doubt sincerely believed in the divine right of kings, and all its consequences of absolute lordship over the person and property of the subject; and finding these questioned, an unhappy infirmity of temper induced him to concur in any means, however arbitrary, which seemed likely to crush opposition, and render his master independent of parliaments. These expedients were successful for a while, but at length they utterly failed, when the king was compelled to call his last parliament, which met Nov. 3, 1640. Early in the following year the archbishop was impeached of treason by the Commons, and sent to the Tower, where he remained, exposed to many hardships, until his death. In March, 1643, charges were exhibited against him, accusing him of designs of overthrowing parliaments, and bringing about union with Rome. Prynne, a barrister, who had suffered from the Star-chamber, and was his personal enemy, had with malignant industry collected all the evidence of these designs that was procurable, seizing his private papers, and even his Prayer-book, and tampering with them to suit the views of his party; but after all, the proofs were so weak, though repeatedly brought forward, that the House of Peers were disinclined to convict him. The Commons, however, were resolved on his destruction, and at last, in November, 1644, with a degree of illegality and cruelty very far exceeding anything with which they charged him, he was at-



Sir Thomas Wentworth\*, who had succeeded to much of Buckingham's influence, and who soon earned even greater unpopularity.

The parliament was dissolved early in 1629, and the king announced his intention of governing without one,

tainted by an ordinance, and, in contempt of a pardon which the king had granted him, was beheaded Jan. 10, 1645, his last words being a solemn denial of the charge of affection for Rome. His body was buried in the church of Allhallows Barking, near the Tower, but in 1663 was removed to his college at Oxford. He had been for several years chancellor of that University, to which he gave many valuable MSS., where he also founded the Greek press, and where many other proofs of his munificent patronage of learning yet remain.

\* He belonged to a wealthy Yorkshire family, but was born in London in 1593. After an education at Cambridge, and foreign travel, he was knighted by James I., and sat in several parliaments for Yorkshire. He made himself conspicuous by his opposition to the measures of the court, was on one occasion chosen sheriff to prevent his having a seat in the House of Commons, and at another was imprisoned for refusing to contribute to a forced loan. Ambition, however, was his ruling passion, and he was induced to forsake his party by the offer of a peerage. On July 22, 1628, he was created baron Wentworth, afterwards viscount Wentworth (Dec. 10, 1628), and was made lord president of the Council of the North. This had been an arbitrary court from the first, but his instructions went beyond those of all former presidents, and, according to Clarendon, were opposed to every principle of law, yet they did not appear to give him power enough. In 1633 he was removed, by his own wish, to Ireland, where he established a perfect despotism, and also raised an army which was generally supposed to be intended to crush that resistance that it was expected would sooner or later be made to the king's illegal measures in England. When the Scottish troubles commenced, Wentworth dealt with a high hand with such of that nation as had settled in Ulster, and was afterwards summoned to England to take the field against them. He was now created earl of Strafford (Jan. 12, 1640), but he was unpopular with his own army, and unable to effect anything. The Scots manifested extreme hatred against him, and they were eagerly seconded by Pym and others, whom he had forsaken so many years before. He wished to remain at a distance from the parliament; but the king insisted on his attendance, and gave a promise of protection which he was unable to keep. Strafford had hardly taken his seat in the House of Lords, when he was impeached as "that great firebrand," (Nov. 18, 1640,) and sent to the Tower. In the April of the next year he was convicted of treason, not according to the course of law, but by an attainder to which the peers were forced to agree by popular violence. The king was with great difficulty brought to consent to his execution, chiefly, it is alleged, through the sophistry of Williams, bishop of Lincoln, who drew an odious distinction between his private conscience as a man and his public conscience as a king. Strafford had himself offered his life as a means of peace between the king and his subjects, but apparently did not expect to be taken at his word, as when told that the warrant was signed he exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation!" but soon calmed himself. He was beheaded on Tower-hill, May 12, 1641, and he died, as a contemporary, who had conducted the process against him (Whitelock), says, "with charity, courage, and general lamentation." He left a son, William, who was restored to his title by Charles II., and lived till 1695, but took no part in public affairs.

a resolution which he kept, unhappily for himself and for his subjects, for more than eleven years. He, however, was not most to blame. The Commons, by their persevering refusal to grant supplies, had in reality commenced the contest, and reduced the king and his ministers to the necessity of attempting to raise a revenue in an unconstitutional manner. Some of the measures resorted to were odious and oppressive<sup>4</sup>; the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were seen to levy fines that were excessive, as if to replenish the Exchequer, and the common law courts affirmed the legality of notoriously unlawful demands. At length, having, as they too hastily conceived, crushed all opposition in England, Charles and his councillors attempted to complete the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland commenced by James I.; this was resisted by force of arms, and the illegal means that had been so long practised being inadequate to maintain an army, the king was obliged, in 1639, to meet the representatives of his justly offended people. Unwarned by experience, however, the ill-advised king<sup>5</sup> speedily dissolved his fourth parliament, as he had its predecessors, before any funds had been granted. Urgent want of means, however, compelled him very soon to assemble another; the memorable Long Parliament, which met Nov. 3, 1640. Mindful of the fate of former assemblies, they procured an act [16 Car. I. c. 7], which deprived the king of

<sup>4</sup> In defiance of the act of the last reign (see A.D. 1624), there were created, "monopolies of soap, salt, wine, leather, sea-coal, and, in a manner, of all things of most common and necessary use." "Supplemental acts of state were made to supply defect of laws . . . obsolete laws were revived and rigorously executed, wherein the subject might be taught how unthrifty a thing it was, by too strict a detaining of what was his, to put the king as strictly to inquire what was his own." Such is the only palliation which even Clarendon can offer for the system pursued; how that system was viewed by the nation in general is but too manifest in the unhappy result.

<sup>5</sup> Clarendon remarks that the great misfortune of Archbishop Laud was the want of a true friend; the same remark applies with still greater force to his royal master.

power to prorogue or dissolve them without their own consent, and they soon became the paramount power in the state. They had before this seized on Archbishop Laud and the earl of Strafford; they displaced and otherwise punished the judges and others who were charged with having acted illegally; obtained the suppression of the three obnoxious courts of Star Chamber, High Commission, and the Earl Marshal, and expelled the bishops from parliament, neither king nor lords venturing openly to resist them, though the former listened to proposals for employing force against them; but his measures were foiled by the activity and address of the popular leaders. He next attempted to seize on Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hampden, and others, but failed, and then thought it advisable to quit London. At length the parliament demanded that the power of raising the militia should be placed in their hands, but as this would have rendered them absolute, the king refused his consent; and then, most fatally for himself and his people, he appealed to the sword, setting up his royal standard at Nottingham, Aug. 25, 1642.

In the lamentable civil war that followed, the parliament had great advantages, both in men and money. The king was supported by the Church, by the Universities, and by the great body of the nobility and gentry, and their tenants in the rural districts; while the adherents of the parliament were the Puritans of every grade, including several gentlemen of moderate estates, and many small freeholders, and the chief part of the population of the large towns; money was readily obtained "on the public faith," and their levies, in which the London apprentices formed a conspicuous part, were, by the able management of Skippon<sup>f</sup> and other soldiers

<sup>f</sup> Philip Skippon had raised himself from the ranks in the wars of the Low Countries. He commanded the armed force which reinstated the five members (justly described by Lord Clarendon as the first scene of the civil war), enjoyed the confidence of the Londoners, and served throughout the struggle

of fortune trained in the German wars, soon rendered more than a match for the undisciplined valour of the cavaliers.

Through the whole course of the contest, the parliamentary leaders acted with promptitude and decision, whilst vacillation and weakness too commonly marked the course of the king and his advisers. He had no sooner withdrawn from London than they openly assumed all the powers of government, the details of which were carried out by numerous Committees, which usually met in the city\*. Each House by its votes regulated a variety of matters independently of the other, but the more important affairs were settled by Ordinances, which began, "The Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, taking into their consideration . . . do hereby ordain."

By such instruments the new rulers seized on the power of the sword (Feb. and Mar. 1642<sup>b</sup>), levied heavy weekly assessments for the support of their army and the relief of the wounded, the widows and orphans (March 4, 6, 1643), and a rate for fortifying the city of London<sup>c</sup> (March 7, 1643); imposed an excise (July, Sept. 1643), and established courts-martial (Aug. 17, 1644). They confiscated the estates of "all persons ecclesiastical or temporal" who appeared in arms against them, or voluntarily contributed to the king's service (Mar. 31, 1643), treated those who attempted to stand neuter as enemies (May 7, 1643), forbade quarter being given to Irishmen taken in England (Oct. 24, 1644), and when the war was closed, ordered all "papists, officers,

with courage and success. He was made one of Cromwell's peers, and died shortly before the Restoration.

\* See Note, p. 42.

<sup>b</sup> These are the earliest dates relating to each step of their usurpation; but many other ordinances, which it is unnecessary to particularize, were subsequently passed to give effect to their designs.

<sup>c</sup> The rate was 2*d.* in the pound on large rents, and 6*d.* each on small houses. Similar ordinances were afterwards made for Exeter, Yarmouth, the Isle of Wight, and other places.

and soldiers of fortune, and other delinquents," to remove from London, under the pains of treason (May 6, 1646; July 9, 1647; June 16, 1648).

Their government, which spread every year more widely over the country, not merely retained, but aggravated, all the worst features of that which they had cast off. In direct violation of the Bill of Rights<sup>k</sup>, they made numberless forced levies of horses and arms (May 23, 1643, &c.); gave powers to their generals to press men into their service (June 10, 1645); passed a most tyrannical ordinance to "repress disorders in printing<sup>l</sup>;" and after imprisoning by mere arbitrary votes any who ventured to present addresses that were distasteful, they passed a rigid law (May 20, 1648) against "tumultuous petitioning," the very means by which their own power had been first established.

To keep alive the interest in their cause they imposed a contribution of a meal a-week towards the support of their troops, and ordained a monthly fast<sup>m</sup> (March 26, 1644), beside numerous occasional ones; they also prohibited public amusements (Oct. 22, 1647), but were obliged, by the clamour of the London apprentices, to allow the second Tuesday in each month as a day of recreation, instead of the customary festivals and holidays, which had been suppressed as superstitious and vain (June 8, 1647).

The parliament had, long before the king's departure, shewn their irreconcilable hostility to the Church and its ministers<sup>n</sup>, and had done everything in their power

<sup>k</sup> See A.D. 1628.

<sup>l</sup> Parties were empowered to break open doors and locks, by day or by night, in order to discover unlicensed printing presses, and to apprehend authors, printers, binders, and others. This ordinance was not more effectual than the Star-chamber decree of 1637, and books, pamphlets, and newspapers were published daily, which condemned their illegal rule in language as little measured as their own.

<sup>m</sup> This was apparently distasteful to some of their own party, as White-lock remarks, under date March 31, 1647, "Very long prayers and sermons this monthly fast-day, as usual."

<sup>n</sup> See Note, pp. 43, 47.

to banish all decency and order from the public service of God. They now appointed an Assembly of Divines (June 12, 1643), ordered a systematic defacement of churches under the pretext of "removing monuments of superstition or idolatry" (Aug. 28, 1643), "regulated" the University of Cambridge<sup>o</sup>, and removed "scandalous ministers" (Jan. 22, 1644). In forgetfulness of their professed regard for "tender consciences," they imposed the Covenant<sup>p</sup> on all classes, beginning with the judges and lawyers, and disabling all refusers to practise any liberal profession, or hold any public employment (Jan. 30, Feb. 2, 1644<sup>q</sup>); substituted the Directory for the Prayer-book (Jan. 3, Aug. 23, 1645); forbade any preaching, except by persons allowed by both Houses (April 26, 1645); set up the presbyterian form of Church government (June 5, 1646); formally abolished episcopacy (Oct. 9, 1646), and sold the bishops' lands (Nov. 16, 30, 1646), paying their most active instruments with the proceeds<sup>r</sup>, thus making the plunder of the Church directly contributory to the ruin of the State,—a lesson that should not be forgotten.

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#### NOTE.

##### PURITAN ASCENDANCY.

It is proposed to give here some account of the manner in which the Puritans, whilst in the temporary possession of power, defaced the noblest edifices of the land, in effect closed the Universities and annihilated learning, and inflicted the

<sup>o</sup> Oxford was then in the king's hands; when it came into theirs it was treated with the extremity of rigour by a committee of Visitors, appointed by ordinance May 1, 1647.

<sup>p</sup> See A.D. 1638.

<sup>q</sup> They had imposed the Covenant in London before this (Aug. 17, 1643), as a kind of invitation to the Scots, and on Dec. 20 of the same year they disabled all dissentients.

<sup>r</sup> Sir Arthur Hasilrigge thus received so much of the Church property in the north, that he was familiarly known as the Bishop of Durham.

most atrocious hardships on many thousands of families, among whom were to be found some of the wisest and best men that our country can boast of, both in Church and State.

### I. COMMITTEES.

The Committees spoken of in the text were very numerous, and they were indeed, though acting in subordination to the Houses of Parliament, the recognised departments of the government. The halls of the Haberdashers, Goldsmiths, Grocers, Saddlers, and others, were occupied by them, the committee of sequestrations sitting in the first, the committee of compositions in the second, a committee of accounts in the third, and a military committee in Derby House, on the site of the College of Arms\*. But the most important was the Grand Committee of Religion, which was divided into numerous sub-committees, (as the Committee of Scandalous Ministers, for the coercion of the loyal clergy, and the Committee of Plundered Ministers, for the benefit of such of their own party as had been formerly deprived or silenced,) and these had branches spread all over the country, so that it was soon remarked that the Puritans had destroyed one Starchamber and one High Commission, only to establish infinitely worse tribunals<sup>1</sup> in fifty different places. These local committees<sup>2</sup>, the

\* This was the property of one of their most active opponents, the earl of Derby; the houses of other equally obnoxious parties were converted into gaols. The members of this committee were, the earls of Essex, Northumberland, Holland, and Pembroke, and Lord Saye, with 10 members of the House of Commons, namely, Fiennes, Glynne, Hampden, Holles, Marten, Meyrick, Pierrepont, Pym, Stapleton and Waller.

<sup>1</sup> The constitution of these committees appears from the instructions issued, Feb. and March, 1643, by the earl of Manchester to certain persons in each of the associated counties (*i.e.* the eastern counties, from Essex to Lincoln). The committees were to consist of not more than ten nor less than five persons, who were to have 5s. a-day for their attendance. They were to be "speedy and effectual" in the discharge of their office; were to call to their assistance some "well-affected men" in each hundred, and inquire into the lives, doctrine, and conversation of all ministers and schoolmasters, "the parishioners in general being not forward to complain of their ministers, though scandalous." They were to proceed against all ministers who were said to be scandalous in their lives or doctrines, non-resident, ignorant, idle, lazy, or ill affected to the Parliament. In conducting their inquiry, they were directed to take the depositions of witnesses without the accused being present, but if he desired it, they were to let him have a copy of the accusations, at his own charge, while the accusers were to be "encouraged" to come forward by being free from all charges and fees. The person accused might put in an answer, but without being confronted with the witnesses; and when condemned, as was reasonably expected to be the case, his name was to be returned to the earl with that of his proposed successor, "an able person, having a testimonial from the well-affected gentry and ministry."

<sup>2</sup> The following letter from the committee at Ashford, Kent, to Richard

members of which are charged in numerous publications of the time with enriching themselves both with plunder and with bribes, were the great engines of oppression, particularly to the clergy, and they were guilty of profanations and barbarities which might well seem incredible, were they not, unhappily, attested by indisputable evidence, both from the perpetrators and the sufferers.

## II. DESECRATION OF CHURCHES.

One of the earliest steps of the Long Parliament was, in effect, to denounce all the clergy as "scandalous," and to issue injunctions having no other end than the profanation of holy places<sup>v</sup>. The inquisitorial Committee of Scandalous Ministers was erected to deal with the clergy, and to deface the churches. Commissioners were appointed, concerning whose proceedings we have the unexceptionable testimony of one of their own number, William Dowsing<sup>x</sup>, of Stratford, whose very curious

Fogge, esq., of Tilmanstone, shews one of the means resorted to, to raise funds for the cause: (the spelling is modernized).

"Sir, You cannot be ignorant of the great charges this country hath been at in the suppressing several rebellions, and in maintaining so many regiments of auxiliaries for their necessary defence upon all occasions, besides the taxes to the Parliament (amounting to £9,700 and upwards a month), which has contracted a great debt upon the country, and of the hazard of life and fortunes the well-affected have run all this while for the common good, of which you must needs partake as well as they. Of the advantage you have had of them in sitting still, and the countenance to rebellion within the country, and to all the malignant party abroad, which you and your party have given by your backwardness in the Parliament service; and therefore cannot but think it reasonable that you should extend yourselves as well towards the recompense of those public damages, also to some proportionable counterpoise of these disadvantages of the well-affected, yet we, being desirous rather to receive a pledge of your future better inclination than a forfeiture for your past malignity, do expect from you, by the 25th of this month, the sum of £30, to be paid in to the Treasurer at Ashford: and in default whereof we shall be enforced to make use of the authority given us by Ordinance of Parliament, for levy of a greater sum. Your friend, ANTHONY WELDON (signed in the name and by the command of the general Committee)."

<sup>v</sup> The curious MS. in the British Museum, called "The Journal of Nehemiah Wallington," a London citizen, may be taken as not unfairly representing the feelings of the Puritans in general in these matters. Speaking of his own immediate neighbourhood, he says,—

"On the beginning of October, 1641, at Leonard's Eastcheap, being our church, the idol in the wall was cut down, and the superstitious pictures in the glass were broke in pieces, and the superstitious things and prayers for the dead in brass were picked up and broke, and the picture of the Virgin Mary on the branch of candlesticks was broke. And some of those pieces of broken glass I have to keep for a remembrance, to shew to the generation to come what God hath done for us, to give us such a reformation that our forefathers never saw the like: His name ever have the praise!"

<sup>x</sup> Under the name of John Dowsing, he is mentioned as breaking the



Journal has been preserved, and gives us the heads of his dealing with the churches of about 150 parishes in the associated counties. He commenced his proceedings Jan. 9, 1644\*, in the town of Sudbury, breaking the windows and the organs, taking down crosses, levelling chancels, and tearing up "brazen superstitious inscriptions;" which latter it is fair to conclude that he sold, as he tells us that 19 such at Wetherden weighed 65 lb.; he also "rent hoods and surplices," and dug down the steps of the chancels, or left his orders for it to be done in a limited time. In general his proceedings were aided by the "godly men of the parish," and he received a fee of 6s. 8d., which in some cases was reduced to 4s. 6d. or 3s. 4d. He had been anticipated in some places, where he records "nothing to be done." But he sometimes met with opposition; five times he enters "no noble;" sometimes it was promised, but not paid, in other cases positively refused; and in one place (Cochie) he was obliged to leave divers pictures in the windows, as the people would not assist him to raise the ladders to reach them; in another (Ufford), he was kept out of the church for above two hours by churchwardens, sexton, and constable, whose names are duly recorded, manifestly for punishment, as he had already sent another person (John Pain, churchwarden of Cornearth) to the earl of Manchester, "for not paying, and doing his duty enjoined by the ordinance."

Dowsing's account of what he did at Ufford may give an idea of the general appearance of English churches up to this time:—

"We brake down thirty superstitious pictures", and gave direction to take down 37 more, and 40 cherubims to be taken down of wood, and the chancel levelled. There was a picture of Christ on the cross, and God the Father above it: and left 37 superstitious pictures to be taken down; and took up six superstitious inscriptions in brass."

This was at his first visit, Jan. 27; he returned Aug. 31,

painted windows in the public schools, libraries, colleges, and halls at Cambridge, ("mistaking, perhaps, the liberal arts for saints," says the author of *Querela Cantabrigiensis*.) and digging down and defacing the floors of the chapels, and then, by armed force, extorting a fee of 40s. from each society where he had committed these ravages.

\* This date shews that the people in general were not inclined to destroy the ornaments of the churches, as all such had been condemned as "reliques of idolatry" as early as Jan. 23, 1641, by an order of the Commons. Yet we see that the majority of the churches remained uninjured three years later, and were only ruined by the exertions of such men as Dowsing and his associates.

\* We learn from his entry at Tremby, Aug. 21, how very comprehensive was this term:—"There was a friar with a shaven crown praying to God in these words, *Miserere mei, Deus*, which we brake down;" in other cases, the "superstitious pictures" were those of the apostles.

and found that the "superstitious pictures" had not been broken down; he continues:—

"Some of them we brake down now. In the chancel we brake down an angel, three '*Orate pro anima*' in the glass, and the Trinity in a triangle, and twelve cherubims on the roof of the chancel, and nigh a hundred JESUS—MARIA in capital letters, and the steps to be levelled. And we brake down the organ-cases, and gave them to the poor. In the church there was on the roof above a hundred JESUS and MARY in great capital letters, and a crozier-staff to be broke down in glass, and above twenty stars on the roof. There is a glorious cover over the font, like a pope's triple crown, with a pelican on the top picking its breast, all gilt over with gold."

Dowsing records with satisfaction the vast number of "superstitious pictures" that he destroyed—1,000 in Clare, 841 in Bramham, 150, 100, or less, in other places. He allows that at Ufford he was charged with "going about to pull down the church;" but we must turn to the narratives of some of the sufferers, if we would form a just idea of the barbarism and profanity which were exhibited by the "godly men" in each sacred edifice in succession, as it fell into their power.

Bishop Hall, in his "Hard Measure," thus describes the devastation of his cathedral at Norwich:

"The sheriff Toftes and Alderman Lindsay, attended with many zealous followers, came into my chapel to look for superstitious pictures and relics of idolatry, and sent for me to let me know they found those windows full of images, which were very offensive, and must be demolished. I told them they were the pictures of some famous and worthy bishops, as St. Ambrose, Austin, &c. It was answered me, that they were popes; and one younger man among the rest (Townsend, as I perceived afterwards) would take upon him to defend that every diocesan bishop was pope. I answered him with some scorn, and obtained leave that I might, with the least loss and defacing of the windows, give order for taking off that offence, which I did by causing the heads of those pictures to be taken off, since I knew the bodies could not offend. There was not care and moderation used in reforming the cathedral church bordering upon my palace. It is no other than tragical to relate the carriage of that furious sacrilege, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses, under the authority and presence of Lindsay, Toftes the sheriff, and Greenwood. Lord, what work was here, what clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what tearing up of monuments, what pulling down of seats, what wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves, what defacing of arms, what demolishing of curious stone-work, that had not any representation in the world, but only the cost of the founder and the skill of the mason; what tooting and piping upon the destroyed organ-pipes; and what a hideous triumph on the market-day before all the country, when, in a kind of sacrilegious and profane procession, all the organ-pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross, which had been newly sawn down from over the Greenyard pulpit, and the service-books and singing-books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market-place; a lewd wretch walking before the train, in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service-book in his hand, imitating, in an impious scorn, the tune, and usurping the words of the litany used formerly in the church. Near the public cross all these instruments of idolatry must be sacrificed to the fire, not without much ostentation of a zealous joy in discharging ordinance, to the cost of

some who professed how much they had longed to see that day. Neither was it any news, upon this guild-day, to have the cathedral, now open on all sides, to be filled with musketeers, waiting for the mayor's return, drinking and tobaccoing as freely as if it had turned alehouse."

To much the same effect is the letter of Dr. Paske, sub-dean of Canterbury, to the earl of Holland, dated Aug. 30, 1642, written not merely to describe the ravage that had been already made, but also to implore protection for the future :—

"Col. Sandys, arriving here with his troops on Friday night (Aug. 26), presently caused a strict watch and sentinels to be set both upon the church, and upon our (the clergy's) several houses. . . . The next morning we were excluded the church, and might not be permitted to enter, for the performance of our divine exercises, but about eight of the clock Sir Michael Livesey, attended with many soldiers, came unto our officers, and commanded them to deliver up the keys of the church to one of their company, which they did, and thereupon he departed, when the soldiers entering the church and choir, giant-like began a fight with God Himself, overthrew the communion-table, tore the velvet cloth from before it, defaced the goodly screen or tabernacle-work, violated the monuments of the dead, spoiled the organs, brake down the ancient rails and seats, with the brazen eagle which did support the Bible, forced open the cupboards of the singing men, rent some of their surplices, gowns, and Bibles, and carried away others, mangled all our service-books and books of Common Prayer, bestrewing the whole pavement with the leaves thereof, a miserable spectacle to all good eyes; but as if all this had been too little to satisfy the fury of some indiscreet zealots among them (for many did abhor what was done already), they further exercised their malice upon the arras-hanging in the choir, representing the whole story of our Saviour, wherein observing divers figures of Christ (I tremble to express their blasphemies), one said, Here is Christ, and swore that he would stab Him; another said, Here is Christ, and swore that he would rip up His bowels; which they did accordingly, so far as the figures were capable thereof, beside many other villanies: and not content therewith, finding another statue of Christ in the frontispiece of the south gate, they discharged against it forty shots at least, triumphing much when they did hit it in the head or face, as if they were resolved to crucify Him again in His figure whom they could not hurt in truth: nor had their fury been thus stopped, threatening the ruin of the whole fabric, had not the Colonel, with some others, come to the relief and rescue: the tumult appeased, they presently departed for Dover, from whence we expect them this day."

These citations may give a faint idea of the wanton damage done to the noblest edifices of the country, and we may be thankful that it was not even worse; for we learn from White-lock that the propriety of pulling down the whole of the cathedrals was discussed, while he was a member of the Council of State, and it is not clear what secondary cause prevented such an irreparable loss to the country.

Though belonging to a later period, it may be here noticed that the Journals of the House of Lords in Ireland bear witness that similar or even greater profanations of churches were practised in that country. On June 3, 1662, one Constantine Neale,

a merchant of Wexford, was by the House ordered to restore the bell of Arklow church, then in his possession; and under the date of Sept. 26, 1662, we read,—

“The churchwardens of Tallaght, in the county of Dublin, exhibited their petition unto the Right Hon. the House of Peers, setting forth that the church of Tallaght, in the year 1651, was in good repair and decently ordained, with convenient pews, with a pulpit, font, and other necessities, and also paved with hewed stone, all which cost the parishioners £300 sterling; and that about the same time Capt. Henry Alland, coming to quarter there with his troops, pulled down or caused to be pulled down the roof of the said church, and converted the timber thereof for the building a house to dwell in, in the county of Kildare, and converted the slates of the said church to his own use, and caused the paving-stones thereof to be carried to Dublin, to pave his kitchen entry, and other rooms in his house; fed his horses in the font, and converted the same, with the seats and pews of said church, to his own use, to the great dishonour of God, the shame of religion, and the petitioners' damage of £300 sterling.”

The House pronounced the offender guilty of sacrilege, and ordered him to pay £100 toward the reparation of the church.

### III. SUFFERINGS OF THE ROYALISTS, MORE PARTICULARLY OF THE CLERGY.

The nobility and gentry who supported the king were, when conquered, treated with the extremity of rigour. By an ordinance passed early in the war, (March 31, 1643,) the estates of all such were declared confiscated, and though this was not, for various reasons, fully carried out, the compositions that they were allowed to make for their “delinquency” were ruinously heavy, and beside, did not protect them from farther arbitrary impositions whenever the finances of their opponents required replenishing. The woods of the Cavaliers were felled whenever a supply of ship-timber was required; their houses were wantonly ruined; their titles were prohibited; but perhaps the most signal proof of the barbarity of their opponents is to be found in a vote of the Commons, after the surrender of the royal garrisons, and when the king was in the hands of the Scots: it bears date Dec. 8, 1646, and declares, “That all who shall raise forces against the Parliament or either House hereafter shall die without mercy, and have their estates confiscated.” Yet this avowed government by the sword did not daunt the spirits of some brave men. They took up arms again and again, and a member of a peaceable profession is recorded by Whitelock to have told them unpalatable truths to their faces. He says, under date Feb. 21, 1647-8,—

"Judge Jenkins, brought to the bar of the House, refused to kneel, denied their authority, told them that they wronged the king, willing that the laws might be protected, that there could be no law without a king, and used high expressions against the parliament and their authority. The House fined him £1,000 for his contempt.

"At another time, when his charge was read against him at the bar, for giving judgment of death against men for assisting the parliament, and for being himself in arms against the parliament, and persuading others to do the like, and for denying the power of the parliament, &c., and asked what he had to say thereunto, he told them, that they had no power to try him, and he would give no other answer."

It is, however, of the sufferings of the clergy that we are best enabled to speak, as they have been collected, mainly from their immediate descendants, by the industry of the Rev. John Walker<sup>a</sup>, and they will be found to present examples of every imaginable hardship and cruelty.

As a preliminary to their systematic persecution, the most atrocious calumnies were circulated against the whole body, both high and low<sup>b</sup>, and they were thus exposed to the violence

<sup>a</sup> In his work entitled "An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, &c., who were Sequestered, Harassed, &c., in the late Times of the Grand Rebellion," folio, published in 1714, in reply to Calamy's "Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, &c., ejected or silenced after the Restoration in 1660." An epitome of Walker's book, styled, "The Sufferings of the Clergy during the Great Rebellion" was published in May, 1862, in anticipation of the proposed Bicentenary Commemoration of the "Bartholomew confessors" in that year.

<sup>b</sup> Many of these calumnies are collected in a book printed by authority of the Parliament in 1643; it is entitled, "The First Century of Scandalous Malignant Priests," and was drawn up by John White, a lawyer, who was chairman of the Grand Committee. Some of the charges are too odious to be credited, particularly as no steps were taken to punish the alleged criminals, except expulsion, which was also the lot of others against whom nothing worse was alleged than "following Bishop Wren's fancies;" yet all are indiscriminately styled "scandalous."

The language which the presbyterian preachers held regarding the clergy may be judged from the following passage from a discourse delivered by Thomas Case, in Milk-street, in 1643:—"Idol, idle shepherds, dumb dogs that cannot bark, unless it were at the flock of Christ; and so they learned of their masters both to bark and bite too; greedy dogs, that could never have enough, that did tear out the loins and bowels of their own people for gain; swearing, drunken, unclean priests, that taught nothing but rebellion in Israel, and caused people to abhor the sacrifice of the Lord; Arminian, popish, idolatrous, vile wretches, such as, had Job been alive, he would not have set with the dogs of his flock; a generation of men they were, that had never a vote for Jesus Christ." Of the bishops he says,—"Look unto their families, and they were for the most part the vilest of the diocese, a very nest of unclean birds. In their courts and consistories, you would have thought you had been in Caiaphas's hall, where no trade was driven but the crucifying Christ in His members." This Case is also known by a profane parody of the offertory sentences, which he employed to solicit supplies for the Parliament. He was connected with Love, in his intrigues, but escaped punishment by making a most abject submission, was one of the "Bartholomew confessors" ejected in 1662, and lived twenty years after.

of mobs, which not unfrequently terminated in death. Many, justly alarmed, fled from their homes, when they were charged with deserting their cures, and, if taken, were treated as the worst of criminals. Hundreds thus perished in gaols, others were imprisoned in ships, and alarmed with threats of selling them as slaves either to the Barbary pirates or the American planters; yet the only matters that could be truly charged against the majority of them were, that they retained their loyalty to the king, and ventured to use the services of the Church, contrary to the commandment of their new rulers.

From the very beginning of the troubles the parliament had shewn an implacable hostility to the episcopal order, and the sufferings of the whole body were most severe. Of the two archbishops, one was put to death, and the other, as well as sixteen bishops, died in poverty, and nine only lived to see the Church and the monarchy restored. As proof of the hardships to which they were subjected, it will be sufficient to cite the testimony of Bishop Hall (from his "Hard Measure"), for, agreeing as he did in theology with the Puritans, it is hardly to be supposed that he fared worse than his brethren; indeed, we know that he was, after being plundered, allowed to live in comparative peace, while Bishop Wren was long imprisoned, and Bishops Pierce and Prideaux<sup>d</sup> were so rigorously used by the sequestrators as to be reduced to absolute want.

"In the April following [1643]," he says, "there came the sequestrators to the palace, and told me that by virtue of an ordinance of parliament, they must seize upon the palace, and all the estate I had, both real and personal, and accordingly sent certain men appointed by them (whereof one had been burned in the hand for the mark of his truth\*), to appraise all the goods that were in the house; which they executed with all diligent severity, not leaving so much as a dozen of trenchers, or my children's pictures, out of their curious inventory: yea, they would have appraised our wearing clothes, had not Alderman Tooley and Sheriff Rawley (to whom I sent to require their judgment concerning the ordinance in this point) declared their opinion to the contrary. These goods, both library and household stuff of all kinds, were appointed to be exposed to public sale."

Of the sufferings of another dignified clergyman, Dr. Richard Sterne, master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and afterwards

\* These were the bishops of Bangor, Bath and Wells, Chichester, Ely, Lichfield, London, Oxford, Rochester, and Salisbury.

<sup>d</sup> An anecdote of Bishop Prideaux, preserved by Walker, shews that he bore his poverty with Christian cheerfulness. "Towards the latter end of his life, a friend coming to see him, and saluting him in the common form of 'How doth your lordship do?' 'Never better in my life,' said he, 'only I have too great a stomach; for I have eaten a great library of excellent books, the sequestrators left me, I have eaten that little plate which they have eaten a great deal of linen, much of my brass, some of my pewter, and now I am come to eat iron, and what will come next I know not.'"

<sup>e</sup> That is, had been branded in court as a felon. See Part III., A.D. 1529.

archbishop of York, we have the following account in a letter of his from his prison in Ely House, Oct. 9, 1643 :—

"This is now the fourteenth month of my imprisonment: nineteen weeks in the Tower, thirty weeks in the Lord Petre's house, ten days in the ships, and seven weeks here in Ely House. The very fees and rents of these several prisons have amounted to above £100, beside diet and all other charges, which have been various and excessive, as in prisons is usual. For the better enabling me to maintain myself in prison and my family at home, they have seized upon all my means which they can lay their hands on. . . . And all this while I have never been so much as spoken withal, or called either to give or receive an account why I am here. Nor is anything laid to my charge (not so much as the general crime of my being a malignant), no, not in the warrant of my commitment. What hath been wanting in human justice, hath been, I praise God, supplied by Divine mercy. Health of body, and patience, and cheerfulness of mind, I have not wanted, no, not on shipboard, where we lay, the first night, without anything under or over us but the bare decks and the clothes on our backs; and after we had some of us got beds, were not able, when it rained, to lie dry in them, and when it was fair weather, were sweltered with heat, and stifled with our own breaths, there being of us in that one small Ipswich coal-ship<sup>1</sup> (so low-built, too, that we could not walk or stand upright in it,) within one or two of three score; whereof six knights, and eight doctors in divinity, and divers gentlemen of very good worth, that would have been sorry to have seen their servants, nay, their dogs, no better accommodated. Yet among all that company, I do not remember that I saw one sad or dejected countenance all the while; so strong is God, when we are weakest."

Of Dr. Layfield, the nephew of Archbishop Laud, and arch-deacon of Essex, a friend relates, apparently from his own statement, that—

"he had at one time or other been confined in most of the gaols about London: the longest time a prisoner in Ely House, and at last, in the company of others, clapt on shipboard under hatches, and not suffered to have the benefit of the air upon the decks without paying a certain price for it. They were threatened to be sold slaves to the Algerines, or to some of our own plantations; but whether this was pretence or real design, their liberty was offered them for £1,500 a man; but such a sum being above their poor fortunes, it was brought down at last to £5 each; which the doctor, with some others, whether not willing or not able to comply with, refused; and so, as no purchase could be got of them, after a year's confinement, and the worst indignities offered them, they were turned ashore for nothing."

Such was the condition of those who refused to sacrifice their consciences to preserve their benefices. Others did make this sacrifice, but, as might have been foreseen, it availed them little. The payment of their tithes was very generally refused, as an "old Jewish institution" unfitted for the children of "the new light," and thus they were deprived of the principal part of their maintenance. They were also perpetually harassed and exposed to danger from the wild fanaticism of the soldiers in

<sup>1</sup> It was called the Prosperous Sailor; the prisoners were nearly murdered by the rabble when sent on board it, at Wapping.

particular, who often thrust them from their pulpits, and occupied them themselves; the Covenant was next imposed, which hundreds who had hitherto complied refused, and so were expelled. After the lapse of some years, the Engagement (acknowledging the Commonwealth) followed, which drove out almost to a man what yet remained of the episcopally ordained ministers, and being also refused by the great body of Presbyterians, nearly every pulpit in the land was at length delivered over to sectaries whose wild blasphemies threw into the shade even the atrocious discourses of such men as Henderson and Love, and Marshall and Peters, which had been so greatly instrumental in bringing about the unhappy civil war.

The names and conditions of some of the men intruded into the benefices vacated are recorded in Walker. We find among them, soldiers, tinkers, cobblers, weavers, (one of whom appeared in the pulpit with a sword at his side,) staymakers, gloves, nailors, saddlers; a ballad-singer, a lawyer's clerk, an apothecary's apprentice, a butler, two coachmen, and a ship-carpenter, who, when ejected, left behind him at the rectory of Sampford Peverell, a table of his own making. Most of them were as illiterate as might be expected, and "the mark of Arthur Okely, rector of West Mersea," testifies that one at least of them could not write his name.

With an affectation of humanity, the parliament by an ordinance of Aug. 19, 1643, gave power to its sequestering committees to allow one-fifth of the profits of the livings to the families of the ejected clergy, but this it appears remained a dead letter, though re-enacted Jan. 22, 1644, and Nov. 11, 1647; for it was clogged with so many conditions, that few ever received benefit from it. In the first place, the incumbent must peaceably deliver up possession, and an angry word even from his wife or children was held contrary to this, and fatal to their claim; next, he must remove out of the parish, and, if required, take an oath to obey all the orders of the committee as to his residence and conduct; then, the claim must be made by the wife in person, so that widowers, and men with sick wives, however large their families, were excluded. With so many means of evasion in the ordinances themselves, it is easy to see how hopeless the case of the clergy was. Add to this, that the committees, composed as they were of furious "anti-prelatists," seldom chose to exert their power, and when they did, the intruders usually refused to pay the pittance, often treating the applicants with scorn as well as cruelty. One of them refused the fifths on the plea that the incumbent was dead, and maintained the same to his face, telling him he was "dead in trespasses and sins." Another answered a child sent to supplicate



him, and who told him that her parents would starve without he paid the pittance, that "starving was as near a way to heaven as any;" and Vavasour Powell, the chief sequestrating commissioner in Wales, replied to an application for relief for clergymen's children, that "they were Babylonish brats, whose heads should be dashed against the stones, and so should they have their fifths."

An anecdote which Walker has preserved may serve to shew what an utter mockery these fifths were allowed to be, even by the Puritans themselves. By a long course of violent usage, the Rev. William Hales, of Glaston, Rutlandshire, was at last forced to leave his cure, and retire with his wife and six children, and

"his books and household goods being seized on by several parties of horse, were again three times bought by his wife and friends. The last party of horse entered in their inventory the pot hanging over the fire, upon which the good gentlewoman asked them whether they intended to enter the beef and pudding boiling in it for the children's dinner? they said, No; for they intended to eat that themselves when their business was over. Then she said, 'Pray, gentlemen, be pleased to enter my children among the rest of the goods;' 'No,' said they, '*we intend to leave them to you in lieu of your fifths*;' and they were as good as their words."

Of men thus driven from their churches and their homes, plundered of their property, exposed to every other imaginable hardship and cruelty, and their lives perpetually endangered, it is not wonderful to find that very many forsook their sacred office, and either joined the king's forces even as soldiers, or endeavoured to gain a living by the most servile occupations. Several are mentioned as small farmers, one as a lime-burner, another as a hedger and ditcher, and another as a hawker of tobacco. Others felt themselves happy in obtaining less unsuitable employment. Many became physicians, and more school-masters; but even this last resource was barbarously denied to them under the Protectorate, and it seems certain that several then perished from absolute starvation. A case very nearly approaching it is related by the son of Dr. Higgins, archdeacon of Derby, who writes, that after his father's school was prohibited,

"had it not been for the benevolence of good people, who filled our hungry bellies when we knew not where to have a morsel of bread, I think we had been famished and starved: I myself, not having tasted a bit of bread two or three days, have been glad to satisfy my hunger by eating crabs and feeding on the fruits of the hedges, which I did as savourily as if they had been dainties, so extreme was my hunger; we distributing that little we had betwixt my father and the smaller children, they being not so well able to endure the sharp bitings of famine as we were."

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To the firm and orderly, though illegal government of the Parliament, the king could only oppose divided, and in some cases certainly dishonest counsels. His courtiers, his generals, even his sons and nephews, made parties for themselves, and thwarted the most prudent measures by their mutual jealousies; and the various classes of his supporters were actuated by very different motives<sup>c</sup>. Though many of the House of Peers and some of the House of Commons repaired to him, he was unable to keep long on foot the semblance of a parliament<sup>b</sup>; his own solemn declarations prevented his attempting to levy taxes without this, and thus he was obliged to depend on the voluntary gifts of his adherents; they, however, answered to his call, and fought at their own cost, while the Universities contributed their plate<sup>d</sup>, and the crown jewels were sold.

The first battle in the civil war (at Edgehill, Oct. 23, 1642) was indecisive, but the king soon after gained signal advantages, and it seemed likely that he would surmount his difficulties, as he repeatedly promised a legal course of government for the future, and many of those who fought against him had no intention of carrying matters to extremity. But they had raised a storm that they could not direct. The extreme party ("the root and branch men") called in the Scots, and after a time Cromwell and a few of his associates thrust themselves to the head of affairs, remodelled the army, to-

<sup>c</sup> Some (as Sir Edward Verney, his standard-bearer, killed at Edgehill) supported him from a feeling of loyal duty, though not approving of his measures. Others (as many Romanists) joined him for protection from the violence of the Parliament. A third party adhered to him but feebly, fearing that a decided overthrow of their adversaries would bring back all the oppressions of former years.

<sup>b</sup> His parliament at Oxford held two sessions, and imposed taxes which in general could only be gathered as military contributions.

<sup>d</sup> The plate of the colleges at Oxford (amounting to at least £6,000), was granted by vote of convocation, Jan. 31, 1643, and £2,000 worth more was contributed by individual members of the university. Much of the plate of Cambridge was intercepted by the parliamentarians.

tally defeated the royal forces, broke the power of the Parliament, and got the king into their own hands.

Various attempts had before been made at treaties between the king and the parliament<sup>1</sup>. The latter now renewed them, and, to gain the king's support against their own revolted instruments, were ready to accept terms which they had before declined; the Scots, and the chiefs of the army, also professed to negotiate with him, and he was led to believe that he could act as umpire; it may, however, reasonably be doubted whether either party was sincere, and it is certain that the king became the victim. After a time the negotiations were broken off, and the king fled to the Isle of Wight. Here they were resumed, and promised peace, when the military, confident in their strength, and unhappily not repugnant to any act of violence or cruelty, reduced the parliament to a mere assembly of their own creatures, terrified the peers from interfering, and then brought their king before a new-created tribunal, called a High Court of Justice, condemned, and executed him; he being beheaded in front of his own palace at Whitehall, on Tuesday, Jan. 30<sup>1</sup>, 1649. His body was carried to Windsor, and there buried in St. George's chapel, Feb. 8<sup>m</sup>.

Very shortly after his accession, Charles married the

<sup>1</sup> As at Oxford in 1643, and at Uxbridge in 1645.

<sup>1</sup> On the Restoration an act was passed [12 Car. II. c. 30.] for the solemn observance of this, as the day of his "martyrdom." A service was accordingly drawn up, and continued in use till the year 1859, in which it is to be regretted there were many expressions that gave just offence to religious persons, who yet heartily abhorred the deed of blood.

<sup>m</sup> The duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, and the earls of Southampton and Lindsay, obtained leave from "those who governed" to attend the funeral of their master. They brought with them Bishop Juxon, who had attended the king on the scaffold, but he was not permitted to read the burial service, as he had intended. The king's body was laid in the grave, says Clarendon, "without any words or other ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders." Upon the coffin was a plate of silver fixed, with these words only, "KING CHARLES, 1648." When the coffin was placed in the grave, the black velvet pall that had covered it was thrown over it, and the earth filled in, which the governor stayed to see perfectly done, and then took the keys of the church, which had long ceased to be used for divine service.

princess Henrietta Maria of France, a woman of beauty and spirit, but unfortunately the cause of many of the troubles of his reign. The marriage treaty had stipulated for such lenity towards the English Romanists as greatly offended the Puritans; the queen's gay disposition also was distasteful to them; some of her husband's most unwise steps were supposed to have been taken in deference to her; and she became so unpopular that an impeachment was prepared against her by the Commons, and she judged it prudent to leave the country. She greatly exerted herself to raise supplies abroad for her husband, and revisited England whilst the war raged, but in 1644 withdrew to France, where she remained in neglect and poverty until the restoration of Charles II. This event she survived several years, dying at Colombe, near Paris, Sept. 10, 1669.

Their issue were—

CHARLES and JAMES, who became kings.

Henry, born July 8, 1640. With his sister Elizabeth he fell into the hands of the Parliament, but was allowed to leave England in 1652, when he repaired to his brother Charles, by whom he was created duke of Gloucester. He returned at the Restoration, but died soon after, Sept. 13, 1660.

Mary, born Nov. 4, 1631, was, when but ten years old, married to Prince William of Nassau; their only child was William, prince of Orange (afterwards William III.) The princess visited England at the Restoration, and like her brother Henry, died in the same year (Dec. 24, 1660).

Elizabeth, born Dec. 28, 1635, died in confinement at Carisbrooke Castle, Sept. 8, 1650. She was buried at Newport, in the new church of which a monument has been erected to her memory by her present Majesty.

Henrietta Maria, born June 16, 1644, at Exeter, was very shortly after carried abroad by her mother, and was educated as a Romanist. She married Philip, duke of

Anjou (brother of Louis XIV.), managed political intrigues between the courts of England and France, and died very suddenly, not without suspicion of poison, shortly after her return from a journey on such business, June 30, 1670.

Charles, born 1629, and Anne, born 1637, died young.

Charles I. used the same arms and supporters<sup>a</sup> as his father, but he revived the ancient motto, DIEU ET MON DROIT.

The character of King Charles has been drawn by his zealous adherent, Lord Clarendon, as little short of perfection as a man, though with some blemishes as a king; blemishes, however, betokening tenderness rather than severity, and therefore not likely to give occasion to the calamities that befell him. According to him, the king's greatest fault was distrust of his own judgment, and hence he often changed his own opinion for a worse, and followed the advice of those who did not judge so well as himself; Whitelock, the Parliamentary, says the same. This facility had doubtless much to do with his misfortunes, and he was also unhappy in the choice of his councillors<sup>b</sup>; but these causes are not in themselves sufficient to account for the strange and deplorable events that have made his reign so memorable. The concessions which circumstances at various times extorted from him he evidently considered derogatory to his royal dignity; and his conduct with regard to the Petition of Right proved that he did not consider himself bound to adhere to the most solemn engagement when he had the power to break it. His

<sup>a</sup> Except in the instance of the Exchequer seal already mentioned. See p. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Some were hateful to the people as Romanists, or favourers of Rome, as Weston, earl of Portland, the treasurer, Lord Cottington, chancellor of the exchequer, and Sir Francis Windebank, the secretary; and some must have been scandalously dishonest, if Clarendon's statement is to be believed, that of £200,000, raised in a year by the illegal methods practised, scarce £1,500 came to the king's use or account.

first parliament, however, shewed a distrust of him, before he had done anything to deserve such treatment, which had the natural effect of causing him to distrust them. The breach grew wider with each successive meeting, and at length ill-judging friends persuaded him to attempt absolute rule; but the remedy proved worse than the disease, as it eventually laid him open to the violence of the army without any defence in the affections of the great body of his people.

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A.D. 1625. Charles succeeds to the throne, March 27. He marries the princess Henrietta of France, June 13.

The parliament meets May 17, but is soon after removed to Oxford, on account of the plague then raging in London. The king desires supplies for the war with Spain; instead of granting them, the Commons require an account of the last subsidies, and the redress of various grievances concerning religion.

An act passed "for punishing of divers abuses committed on the Lord's Day, called Sunday," [1 Car. I. c. 1].

Dr. Montague's book, "*Appello Cæsarem*," is censured by the Commons, as containing matters contrary to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the author held to bail to answer any charges against him<sup>2</sup>.

Some English ships are lent to the French king, (July 28,) to be employed against the Protestants at La Rochelle<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> This statute was particularly directed against the Sunday sports allowed by King James (see A.D. 1618). Persons frequenting such assemblies were to pay a penalty each time of 3s. 4d., or to be set in the stocks.

<sup>3</sup> The king expressed great resentment at this interference in a matter which he considered belonged only to himself and the clergy, and it was one cause of the dissolution of the parliament which speedily followed.

<sup>4</sup> The sailors, among whom puritanical opinions greatly prevailed, very generally deserted the vessels, which were thereby rendered almost useless. The Commons were much irritated against the duke of Buckingham,

The king again urges the Commons for supplies. They instead complain of mismanagement of public affairs, and impute the war with Spain to the ill conduct of the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM. The king soon after dissolves them, Aug. 12.

The king raises money by a general loan, and despatches a fleet, and troops, under Lord Wimbledon<sup>a</sup>, to intercept the Spanish treasure-ships.

The armament, which consisted of 80 ships, with 10,000 soldiers on board, was commenced in April, 1625, and was intended to be despatched in May, but the conduct of the Commons in refusing supplies, prevented its being ready before October, when it suffered severely from bad weather. Cadiz was reached on October 22, and a fort stormed the next day, which so alarmed the Spaniards, that they sank ships to block up the harbour. The troops on shore becoming disorderly, were re-embarked, and the fleet cruized for three weeks in search of the treasure-ships, without falling in with them. Want of provisions then compelled them to return to England, which they reached in miserable plight, bringing the plague with them. The general and his officers mutually accused each other of incapacity or cowardice. The soldiers were kept embodied for want of money to pay and discharge them, and were billeted in private houses, which occasioned great discontent.

The great seal is taken from Williams, bishop of Lincoln<sup>b</sup>, and given to Sir Thomas Coventry, Oct. 25.

A.D. 1626. All persons possessed of £40 a-year ordered

who was believed to be the author of the scheme, and resolved to prosecute him.

<sup>a</sup> Edward Cecil, a new-made peer, and a grandson of Lord Burghley. He had served with credit in the Netherlands, but he now did so little that he was on his return, by a play on his name, styled General Sit-still. The earl of Essex, afterwards the Parliamentary general, was the second in command.

<sup>b</sup> He was believed to incline to the Puritanical party, and had had a quarrel with Buckingham, his former patron.

to present themselves to receive knighthood<sup>2</sup>, before Jan. 31.

A new parliament assembles, Feb. 6.

Care had been taken to prevent several of the eminent men of the last parliament from sitting in this, by appointing them as sheriffs<sup>3</sup>; but this stratagem failed in its effect. The Commons steadily refused to grant supplies<sup>4</sup>, until their grievances<sup>5</sup> had been redressed; they renewed the complaint against Montague, and also preferred articles of impeachment against the duke of Buckingham, Feb. 23, which they presented to the Peers, May 8. These charged him with buying and selling offices and titles; procuring extravagant grants from the king, and also embezzling his treasure; extorting money from the East India merchants, plundering seized ships, and neglecting the guard of the coast; lending ships to the French king; and closed with an insinuation, rather than a charge, of his having procured the death of King James, the plaster and potions which he was said to have administered, being "deemed to be an act of transcendant presumption and of a dangerous consequence."

The king sends Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John

<sup>2</sup> This was an old feudal obligation, which was now brought forward to raise money, by compounding with those who declined the honour. More than £170,000 was gathered by this means.

<sup>3</sup> Among them was Sir Edward Coke, lately a judge. He was obliged to serve, but he had his revenge by taking exception to several parts of the sheriff's oath, and he procured the omission of a clause which bound him to destroy Lollards. The bishop of Lincoln and the earl of Bristol, known opponents of Buckingham, had their writs withheld, and were thus prevented at first from attending the parliament; but they complained to the House of Lords, and were then allowed to take their seats.

<sup>4</sup> The king urged them by message to grant money; and, with reference to their charges against Buckingham, said, "I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you, much less such as are of eminent place, and near unto me."

<sup>5</sup> These grievances consisted, among others, of an alleged countenancing of the Romanists; the sale of honours and offices; the employment of a part of the navy against the Rochellers, and the neglect of the rest, so that the seas had become unsafe to the merchants; misemployment of the revenue; and the many high and important offices held by the duke of Buckingham.



Eliot, who had appeared as the managers of the impeachment, to the Tower, May 10.

The Commons refuse to proceed with business, and after some delay their members are released.

The earl of Arundel (Thomas Howard)\* is imprisoned by order of the king, but is released after several petitions from the House of Lords, June 8.

The earl of Bristol (John Digby) is accused of treason, by the king's order, May 1. He makes answer, and brings counter-charges against the duke of Buckingham, accusing him as the cause of the war with Spain. The king interferes, and wishes to proceed against Bristol in the courts of law, but is hindered by the remonstrance of the House of Lords.

The duke of Buckingham makes answer to the articles against him; the Commons are dissatisfied, and petition the king to remove him from his councils. Instead, the parliament is dissolved, June 15, and the presentation of a Remonstrance which had been drawn up, reiterating the charges against the duke, prevented.

Some subsidies had been promised, but this hasty dissolution prevented their formal grant. The king was without funds to carry on the war with Spain, and, by the advice of his council, he took steps to raise funds in open violation of the well-known privileges of parliament. He issued a commission (July 26) for levying "customs, subsidies, and imposts" as in the last reign, required loans and benevolences, and appointed commissioners to compound with recusants. The city of London and the seaports were directed to furnish ships, men were pressed for seamen or soldiers, and, to check their disorders, martial law was enforced on them. Some persons

\* He was the son of the earl who died in the Tower in 1595. His son had married the daughter of the duke of Lenox without the royal permission.

\* On June 17 a proclamation was issued, commanding all persons who had copies of the Remonstrance to burn them. On the day before, an equally futile prohibition of the spread of "new opinions in religion" had been issued.

## CHARLES I.

A.D. 1627.]

who refused to lend money were imprisoned, and others sent to serve in the fleet. Upwards of 100 ships were raised by this means and sent to sea, under the earl of Denbigh (William Feilding); but he acted so weakly or corruptly, as greatly to inflame the popular discontent, suffering many English merchantmen to be captured before his eyes<sup>1</sup>, and releasing Spanish and Flemish vessels which had been taken by his own men.

The queen's foreign attendants<sup>2</sup> are dismissed by the king in July, which is one ground of the subsequent war with France.

Persons having habitations near the sea-coasts ordered to reside there for their defence, July 10.

A.D. 1627. Cardinal Richelieu<sup>3</sup> undertakes the siege of La Rochelle, the strongest town of the French Protestants. They apply to England for aid, and war is accordingly declared against France.

The duke of Buckingham sails with a fleet and army to La Rochelle. The townsmen distrust his intentions, and decline to admit him.

The duke lands his forces in the Isle of Rhé, July 12. He ineffectually besieges the citadel, and is at last obliged to retire with great loss, Oct. 12.

Five of the gentlemen imprisoned for refusing the loan<sup>4</sup> apply, without success, to the judges for release Nov. 28.

<sup>1</sup> A list drawn up in 1668 states the loss at 240 ships, valued with their cargoes at £297,000.

<sup>2</sup> There were several priests among them, whose proceedings gave an offence to the Puritans. Their dismissal was intended to conciliate the people, but it failed to produce that effect.

<sup>3</sup> Armand des Plaines, Cardinal Richelieu, belonging to a noble Poitou family, was born in Paris in 1585. By adroit management he ruled France, afterwards secretary of state. By adroit management he ruled France, and his queen, but he crushed the royal power, and crushed the Protestants. He made war with success on both Spain and Austria, and in 1629 the Scottish covenanters, in revenge for the assistance given to La Rochelle. He was, like Wolsey, a great builder, and he began St. Germain's church, the Palais Royal, in Paris, to the king.

<sup>4</sup> They were Sir John Corbet, Thomas Daniel, Walter Earl

Noblemen and gentlemen ordered to leave London, and reside on their estates in the country<sup>f</sup>, Nov. 28.

A.D. 1633. Dr. Lamb, a supposed spy of the duke of Buckingham, killed in the Old Jewry, March 12<sup>g</sup>.

A third parliament meets, March 17, and sits till June 26. Among its members were several gentlemen who had been imprisoned, or otherwise ill-treated, for refusing the forced loan<sup>h</sup>, and votes were speedily passed, affirming the illegality of imprisonment without cause fully shewn, and of taxes imposed without the authority of parliament.

The Commons hold conferences with the Lords, and petition for the execution of the laws against Romish recusants<sup>i</sup>, which the king promises. They also pass votes against imprisonment, except by due course of law, and employment against the subjects' will in the king's service; and after further conferences with the Lords, at length draw up the Petition of Right, condemning the recent illegal practices, which the king is with much difficulty brought to agree to<sup>k</sup>.

Hampden, and Thomas Heveningham. The judges declared that "a special mandate from the king" was a sufficient cause for their detention, which was justly regarded as equivalent to affirming that both the liberty and the property of the subject were absolutely dependent on the royal will, and was resented as an open violation of Magna Charta. See Part II., A.D. 1215.

<sup>f</sup> Many disobeyed this order, and were in consequence heavily fined in the Star-chamber.

<sup>g</sup> See A.D. 1632.

<sup>h</sup> Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards earl of Strafford) was one of the number.

<sup>i</sup> In consequence, an act was passed [3 Car. I. c. 3] "against sending any to be popishly bred beyond the seas," which directs the provisions of the statutes [3 Jac. I. cc. 4, 5] made after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot (see A.D. 1606) to be strictly enforced. This, however, was not done, and the sums raised by compounding with recusants formed an important part of the royal revenue during the many years that parliaments were in abeyance.

<sup>k</sup> He sent messages to the Houses, desiring them to trust to his royal word, promising to observe the laws, and confessing that Magna Charta and the statutes confirming it were in force. The Lords were inclined to give way, or at least to add a proviso, saving the king's "sovereign power:" but the Commons objected to the term, and the bill was presented. The king gave answer (June 2), that right should be done according to the laws and customs of the realm. This was by both Houses pronounced unsatisfactory, and Charles at last (June 7) gave the formal assent, by which the petition was converted into a statute [3 Car. I. c. 1].

The Commons draw up a Remonstrance, accusing Bishops Laud and Neile of favouring popery. They attribute their other grievances to the evil counsels of the duke of Buckingham, and pray for his removal from the king's service.

Dr. Manwaring's sermons<sup>1</sup> are suppressed by proclamation, June 24.

The king grants special marks of favour to Drs. Montague and Manwaring; orders the Starchamber proceedings against the duke to cease, "being satisfied with his innocency;" declares that "he cannot want tunnage and poundage," though not granted to him; and soon after adjourns the parliament, June 26.

BISHOP LAUD is translated from Bath and Wells to London, July 11; when he becomes in fact primate, as Archbishop Abbot is under suspension<sup>2</sup>.

The duke of Buckingham is assassinated at Portsmouth<sup>3</sup>, Aug. 23.

The king orders tunnage and poundage to be levied. Several merchants refuse to pay, when their goods are seized and themselves imprisoned<sup>4</sup>.

La Rochelle taken, Oct. 28<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> His suspension was on the plea of ill health, but it was popularly attributed to his refusal to license the sermon of Dr. Sibthorp (see p. 34).

<sup>3</sup> He was preparing to embark on an expedition for the relief of La Rochelle. The assassin was John Felton, a gentleman of Suffolk, who had served in the army at the Isle of Rhé, but had been disappointed as to promotion. He stated, however, that he had been chiefly actuated by the Commons' remonstrance, which pointed out the duke as the great enemy of the king and the kingdom. Though threatened with the rack, he made no disclosure as to having any confederate. He was executed at Tyburn, Nov. 28, 1628.

<sup>4</sup> They appealed to the judges. Those of the King's Bench discharged one person (Alderman Chambers), said to be committed for insolent words spoken at the council table, but the barons of the Exchequer ordered his goods to be seized, as they did with many others, and he was again imprisoned, and remained in confinement above six years. See A.D. 1640.

<sup>5</sup> This event caused great discontent in England, it being considered that the king's officers had not given the place the support they ought to have done, and it was bitterly alluded to by the Puritans on very unsuitable occasions (see A.D. 1630). La Rochelle had almost a republican government under a charter granted by Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of Henry II., and its fall was believed not to be displeasing to the court party. The French Pro-

**A.D. 1629.** Dr. Montague's "Appello Cæsarem" suppressed by proclamation, Jan. 17.

The parliament meets Jan. 20. Though greatly urged by the court party, they refused to grant supplies until they had discussed grievances in religion<sup>1</sup>. They were at length dissolved, March 10<sup>2</sup>, after having voted (March 2), "that whoever should bring in innovation of religion, popery or Arminianism, and any that should advise the taking of tunnage and poundage not granted by parliament, or that should pay the same, should be accounted enemies to the kingdom<sup>3</sup>."

The king publishes a Declaration, justifying his proceedings, and also a Proclamation, which is understood as proving his intention to govern in future without parliaments, March 27.

Before the parliament was dissolved, Sir John Eliot, Mr. Selden, and several other members, were summoned before the privy council, and committed to the Tower (March 5), and informations were afterwards exhibited against them in the Star-chamber. They applied to the court of King's Bench for liberation, but were instead removed to other prisons, and their cause thus postponed until the autumn, when the judges declared they were entitled to be bailed, but must give sureties for their good

testants now lost all political influence, but an Edict of Grace was issued in July, 1629, which restored some of their privileges, in the expressed hope of their return to the Romish Church.

<sup>1</sup> They particularly alluded to the favour shewn by the king to Montague and Manwaring; and one member, Oliver Cromwell, then obscure, though afterwards but too well known, complained of the bishop of Winchester (Richard Neile) as an encourager of popery.

<sup>2</sup> The king was so unwise as to use coarse and irritating language on this occasion. "He spake to the lords," says Whitelock, "courting them, and said it was merely the seditious carriage of some vipers, members of the lower house, that caused the dissolving of this parliament, but he commended others of the commons."

<sup>3</sup> The speaker (Sir John Finch, afterwards chief justice, and lord Finch of Fordwich) had a few days before declined to put the question that the seizing of goods for tunnage and poundage was a breach of privilege. He now declared that he was ordered to adjourn the House, but he was held in the chair, and the door locked whilst this vote was passed.

behaviour, which they refused to do, and so were sent again to the Tower. It was intimated to them that if they would petition for their discharge they would be set at liberty; but they declined the offer, and an information was then laid against them in the King's Bench for a conspiracy to sow discord between the king and his people<sup>1</sup>. Other members of the House, however, were brought over to the king's interest by the gift of office; Noy and Littleton were made attorney and solicitor-general, Sir Dudley Digges master of the rolls, and Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir John Savile privy councillors.

A.D. 1630. The case of Sir John Eliot and the rest is brought forward in the Court of King's Bench. The prisoners deny the jurisdiction of the court, and when this is affirmed, refuse to plead further. They are then condemned to heavy fines, to make submission and acknowledgment of their offences, and to remain in prison until they give security for their good behaviour.

Commissioners appointed to compound for defects in titles to estates<sup>2</sup>, May 27.

A new proclamation issued, commanding the nobles and gentry to reside on their estates in the country<sup>3</sup>, June 20.

A peace is concluded with France, April 14, and with Spain, Nov. 15<sup>4</sup>.

Dr. Alexander Leighton is set in the pillory, by

<sup>1</sup> The king ordered certain questions to be propounded to the judges as to the responsibility of parliament-men to answer out of parliament for their conduct there. The judges replied that they were responsible, but Judge Whitelock, his son says, "did often and highly complain against this way of sending to the judges for their opinion beforehand," and appears to have attributed the step to Bishop Laud.

<sup>2</sup> This was one of the questionable expedients resorted to, to raise money. It in effect was an inquiry regarding every estate in the kingdom, and occasioned great discontent.

<sup>3</sup> The same effects followed as from the proclamation in 1627, and large sums were raised as penalties from the contumacious.

<sup>4</sup> In neither of these treaties was any care taken for the interests of the Protestants abroad, in whose cause the wars were avowedly begun.

sentence of the Starchamber, and imprisoned, for writing a book called "Zion's Plea against the Prelates<sup>a</sup>," Nov. 26.

The king and his advisers had now fairly entered on their fatal course of absolute government. In lieu of acts of parliament, proclamations were issued, which were declared to have the force of laws; the monopolies which had been abolished in the last reign were re-established, and new ones devised; and compositions for not appearing to receive knighthood were levied to a very large amount. "Obsolete laws were revived," says Clarendon, "and rigorously executed," and "unjust projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot;" nearly the same parties sat in different rooms as the Council, the Starchamber, and the High Commission Court, and by playing into each others' hands, they reared a fabric of unbearable oppression. The judges, too, with some honourable exceptions<sup>b</sup>, had the baseness to pervert the laws to the views of the court, and thus shut out the people from any hope of a peaceable redress of their grievances.

A.D. 1631. St. Catherine Cree church, in the city of London, is consecrated, with much ceremony, by Bishop Laud<sup>b</sup>, Jan. 16.

A commission granted to the archbishops, the bishop of London (William Laud) and others, for the restoration of St. Paul's cathedral<sup>c</sup>, April 10.

<sup>a</sup> This work, which was on the title-page stated to be "printed in the year and month wherein Rochelle was lost," not only assailed the bishops, but stigmatized the queen as "a Canaanite and an idolatress." The author, who was a Scottish divine, was twice whipped and branded, had his ears cut off, his nose slit, and suffered nearly eleven years' imprisonment. He was released by the Long Parliament, and made keeper of Lambeth palace (then used as a prison); he was alive in the year 1646, but how long after is uncertain. His son Robert became archbishop of Glasgow in the time of Charles II.

<sup>b</sup> The judges Croke and Whitelock were excepted from the censures pronounced on their brethren at the commencement of the Long Parliament.

<sup>c</sup> This formed a very prominent charge against him on his trial twelve years after.

<sup>d</sup> This noble edifice had been greatly neglected and desecrated in the two

Riots in the forest of Dean, when many new-made inclosures are thrown down, and other mischief done, June. The leaders were disguised as women, and their followers styled themselves "Lady Skimmington's men."

George Huntley, rector of Stourmouth, in Kent, who had been imprisoned by the Court of High Commission, is set at liberty by the judges, and brings an action against the commissioners for false imprisonment<sup>d</sup>.

**A.D. 1632.** The city of London fined 1,500 marks for alleged neglect of duty<sup>e</sup>.

Courts of justice-seat are held to inquire of infractions of obsolete forest laws and encroachments, by which great fines are imposed and heavy rents exacted<sup>f</sup>.

preceding reigns; some of the chapels had been pulled down, others let out as workshops, and the body of the church was a common lounge for idlers and bad characters. Bishop Laud was particularly active in procuring funds for the good work; he contributed largely himself, gained help from the Universities, as well as from Sir Paul Pindar and other wealthy laymen, and, by the king's permission, appropriated to the restoration the fines imposed in the High Commission Court, but these amounted to no large sum, and the chief effect was, to add to the unpopularity of that tribunal.

<sup>d</sup> He had, two years before, refused to preach at a visitation, though ordered by the archdeacon. For this breach of canonical obedience he was (June 25, 1629) deprived of his benefice (which he had held for nearly 20 years), fined and imprisoned, but the judges declared that his offence subjected him only to ecclesiastical censures, and thus emboldened him to sue the commissioners. The king sent for the judges, and ordered them not to entertain the action against the commissioners, but they pleaded the obligation of their oath; and, after some further argument before the council, it was agreed that the commissioners should plead. Accordingly an order was made for the attendance of both parties in the Court of King's Bench, in Easter term, 1632, but the result apparently was not favourable to Huntley, as, on Oct. 10, 1634, he wrote to Noy, the attorney-general, urging him to take up his cause, and assuring him that he might get £100,000 for the king from the commissioners, so illegally had they acted. Noy, however, declined to interfere. Huntley, early in the next year, procured a writ of *capias* against Sir Henry Marten, one of the commissioners, but the only result was, that his attorney, George Merefield, was committed to prison, as having obtained the writ "by undue means." On his petition, pleading his "youth and ignorance," he was released, Jan. 13, 1635. Huntley was alive, and probably unbeneficed, in 1641, as the parishioners of Stourmouth then petitioned the Long Parliament that he might be restored. If he was, he had but a brief tenure, as Edward Warde became rector Feb. 9, 1645.

<sup>e</sup> The neglect alleged was in regard to the death of Dr. Lamb, who in 1628 was so ill-used in the streets of the city, that he died in consequence, (see p. 62), but no magistrate appeared to quell the tumult, nor was any one then punished for it. The reviving of the matter, however, at such a distance of time was looked on as a mere expedient to raise money.

<sup>f</sup> These courts were held before Henry Rich, earl of Holland, as chief



**A.D. 1633.** The "feoffees for impropriations"<sup>1</sup> censured in the Starchamber, and their livings<sup>2</sup> forfeited to the crown, Feb. 13.

WILLIAM PRYNNE<sup>1</sup> is committed to the Fleet<sup>2</sup> for his book "Histriomastix," a condemnation of plays, supposed to reflect on the queen, who sometimes took part in the masques and similar diversions of the court.

The city of London fined £50,000 in the Starchamber, and their plantation in Ulster seized into the king's hands, for some alleged neglects in its management, March 8.

The collection of money for alleged charitable purposes without licence forbidden by proclamation, March 21.

The king visits Scotland, and is crowned there, June 18. He returns to England early in August.

justice in eyre south of Trent. They inquired into and punished alleged encroachments of three to four hundred years' standing; and, according to the preamble of the act passed in 1641, "for the certainty of Forests," [16 Car. I. c. 16.] "endeavoured to set on foot forests where in truth none have been, or ought to be, or at least have not been used of long time."

<sup>1</sup> This was a self-constituted corporation of twelve members, which raised subscriptions avowedly to purchase impropriate rectories, and thereby relieve the poverty of the Church. They, however, devoted their funds to the support of Lecturers in towns, styled by them a "faithful preaching ministry," who were uniformly Puritans: hence Bishop Laud laboured to procure their suppression. The scheme had been devised by Dr. John Preston, a noted preacher (born at Northampton in 1587, he became Master of Emmanuel College in 1622, and died July 20, 1628,) at Cambridge, where he had gained the favour of James by his skill in disputation.

<sup>2</sup> They were thirteen in number.

<sup>1</sup> He was a Somersetshire man, born in 1600, and educated at Oxford, where he studied the law. He was a friend of Preston, the Puritan, and being conspicuous for moving for prohibitions to stop proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts, the heavy punishment inflicted on him was popularly, though probably unjustly, attributed to the influence of the archbishop. Prynne was expelled from the university and the bar, placed in the pillory, where his ears were cut off, and sentenced to imprisonment until he made a more complete submission than suited his temper. He, in February, 1634, presented a petition, in which he acknowledged that he had given "great and just offence to the King, Queen and whole State," but this was not deemed sufficient. His confinement, however, was by no means rigid. He was allowed the attendance of his servant (Nathaniel Wickens), and was permitted to go abroad, attended by a keeper. By the connivance of this man, he procured the printing of several offensive works, which were widely circulated; and this led to his second trial and punishment in 1637.

<sup>2</sup> He was removed to the Tower, Feb. 24, 1634.

One reason for this journey was to defeat a scheme of detaching Scotland from his obedience, which there was reason to think was entertained by the marquis of Hamilton (James Hamilton<sup>1</sup>); another, to complete the restoration of episcopacy commenced by James I., and to introduce the English Liturgy. The king founded the bishopric of Edinburgh, and bestowed high offices on several prelates, but left the introduction of the Liturgy unattempted<sup>2</sup>, from scruples as to appearing to interfere with the independence of Scotland.

LORD WENTWORTH is appointed deputy of Ireland, July 3<sup>a</sup>.

BISHOP LAUD is translated to the see of Canterbury, August. He is succeeded as bishop of London by Bishop Juxon<sup>o</sup>.

The Book of Sports of King James<sup>p</sup> is again pub-

<sup>1</sup> He was of the blood royal, being descended from a daughter of James II. Charles refused to credit the accusations against him, and afterwards employed him to negotiate with the Covenanters, but his conduct therein was so ambiguous, that when he repaired to the king at Oxford, after the war had broken out, he was sent a prisoner into Cornwall, where he remained until released by the parliamentary forces. In 1648, however, he headed the Scottish army which invaded England in the cause of the king, but was defeated and captured, and was beheaded early in 1649. His brother William, the second duke, was killed in the royal cause at Worcester.

<sup>2</sup> After his return, orders were sent for the use of the English Liturgy in the king's chapel in Edinburgh, but the council did not think it prudent to comply with the direction.

<sup>a</sup> He held this office until 1639, when he was created lord lieutenant. His administration was altogether despotic, and marked by many acts of violence and cruelty. He endeavoured to expel all Scots who had taken the Covenant from Ireland, and thus earned the hatred of their nation, which pursued him to the scaffold.

<sup>o</sup> William Juxon, a native of Chichester, born in 1582, was educated at St. John's College, Oxford, and became President there. He was a friend of Bishop Laud, and by his influence was removed in 1633 from the see of Hereford, before consecration, to that of London, was also made lord treasurer, and received many marks of the favour of Charles I., whom he attended on the scaffold. At the Restoration he was translated to Canterbury, but held the primacy a very short time, dying in his eighty-first year, June 4, 1663. Though his secular office in the time preceding the civil war was distasteful to many, a contemporary (Whitelock) bears this honourable testimony to Bishop Juxon's character: "He was a person of great parts and temper, and had as much command of himself as of his hounds;" [he much delighted in hunting:] "he was full of ingenuity and meekness, not apt to give offence to any, and willing to do good to all."

<sup>p</sup> See A.D. 1618.

lished by royal authority, Oct. 18, which is displeasing to many beside the Puritans<sup>¶</sup>.

**A.D. 1634.** The coasts both of England and Ireland are infested by pirates; whilst the Dutch endeavour to exclude the English from the northern fisheries, and fish on the English coasts without licence<sup>¶</sup>. To raise a fleet, a writ of ship-money is issued (Oct. 20), requiring the maritime counties and towns to pay certain fixed sums; but this being found insufficient for the purpose, the writs are, in the following year, directed to all counties and towns alike.

Cardinal Richelieu sends agents to Scotland, who intrigue with the discontented.

The lord deputy (Wentworth) claims the whole province of Connaught as belonging to the crown<sup>¶</sup>.

**A.D. 1635.** A fleet of forty vessels is sent to sea, under the earl of Lindsey, and another of twenty vessels under the earl of Essex, for the protection of merchants; many of the Dutch fishing-vessels are sunk or taken.

A proclamation issued against departing out of the realm without licence<sup>¶</sup>, July 21.

Archbishop Laud holds a visitation, in which, among other things, he insists on the communion-table in churches

<sup>¶</sup> Some ministers refused to read it. One of them (Laurence Snelling, rector of Paul's Cray, Kent) was deprived of his living and excommunicated for disobedience in this particular by the High Commission Court in 1637.

<sup>¶</sup> Their eminent statesman, Hugo Grotius, wrote his "*Mare Liberum*," in justification of these proceedings; while the equally eminent Selden, in his "*Mare Clausum*," shewed that the sovereignty of the narrow seas had belonged to England from the earliest times. This had in former times been acknowledged on all hands (see Part II., A.D. 1320); but the weakness of the government, which had suffered the English navy to fall to decay, encouraged the enterprising republicans now to deny it.

<sup>¶</sup> The claim was compounded for, but it justly alarmed every landed proprietor in Ireland, and it was one great cause of the insurrection of 1641.

<sup>¶</sup> "Ministers unconformable to the discipline and ceremonies of the Church," it appears, were in the habit of retiring to the Bermudas. None were in future to go, except by licence of the archbishop of Canterbury; and those already there were to be brought back by a ship which the lord admiral (Algernon Percy, earl of Northumberland) was ordered to fit out.

being placed altarwise ; the bishop of Lincoln (John Williams) denounces this as an innovation.

The lord deputy (Wentworth) procures the formal adoption of the English Articles by the Irish Church \*.

The archbishop endeavours to reduce the descendants of the French and Walloon settlers to conformity with the Church.

**A.D. 1636.** The king encloses a very large space of ground for a park at Richmond, taking, in some cases, men's land by payment, but without their consent †.

The bishop of London (William Juxon) appointed lord treasurer, March 9.

Foreigners forbidden to fish on the British coasts without licence, March 10.

A fleet sent to Sallee, and many hundreds of Christian slaves released.

**A.D. 1637.** The tax of ship-money being much murmured against and resisted, the king requires the opinion of the judges, who unanimously declare, that in case of danger to the whole kingdom, the king can by law levy it from all his subjects, and that he is the sole judge of the danger ‡, Feb.

\* The Articles of the Church in Ireland were more decidedly Calvinistic than those in England, as the Lambeth Articles (see Part III., A.D. 1595) had been incorporated with them. It was owing to the advice of Archbishop Laud that this step was taken, which was reluctantly acceded to by Archbishop Usher and the Irish prelates, who looked upon it as a surrender of the independence of their national Church.

† Archbishop Laud strongly opposed this project ; so did Lord Cottington, but to annoy the archbishop (with whom he was at variance) he pretended the contrary, and argued in a way that well illustrates the mode of converting light matters into serious offences which then prevailed in the courts. He said the park would be convenient for the king's pleasure in the winter season, without his being obliged to make any long journeys ; that to oppose his resolutions therein could only proceed from want of affection to his person, and he was not sure that it might not be high treason. "The other," says Clarendon, "upon the wildness of his discourse, in great anger asked him, 'Why? whence had he received that doctrine?' Cottington coolly replied, 'They who did not wish the king's health could not love him ; and they who went about to hinder his taking recreation, which preserves his health, might be thought, for aught he knew, guilty of the highest crimes.'"

‡ The names of these judges were, Finch, chief-justice (see A.D. 1629) ; Berkley, Bramston, Crawley, Croke, Davenport, Denham, Hutton, Jones, Trevor, Vernon, and Weston.

JOHN HAMPDEN<sup>7</sup>, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, and several others, refuse to pay the tax, and are in consequence sued in the court of Exchequer.

A proclamation issued, April 30, imposing restrictions on emigration to America. This proclamation states that "men of idle and refractory humours, whose only or principal end is to live without the reach of authority," daily withdraw themselves with their families to the plantations, where many disorders have been caused by them. It therefore ordains that no persons of property ("subsidy-men") shall quit the country without the licence of the privy council, nor poorer men without licence of the justices, and to be entitled to these licences, all are to produce certificates of having taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the testimony of their parish minister as to conformity in ecclesiastical matters.

The cause of ship-money is argued at great length before the twelve judges, when they all, except Croke and Hutton, give their judgment for the crown<sup>8</sup>, June 12.

### THE STARCHAMBER AND THE LIBELLERS.

Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick<sup>9</sup>, are condemned in the Starchamber for seditious writings, June 14. They are placed in the pillory together, and mutilated, June 30.

<sup>7</sup> He was cousin to Oliver Cromwell and had before this been embroiled with the courts for neglecting to attend his parish church, and for mustering the train-bands in Beaconsfield churchyard on a Sunday: for which he had to make a formal submission. He sat in the Long Parliament for Buckinghamshire, and on the breaking out of the war became a colonel. He was mortally wounded in a skirmish at Chalgrove, near Oxford, June 18, 1643, and died six days after.

<sup>8</sup> Though the cause was thus decided, Lord Saye, a Puritan, still disputed it, but he gave way eventually, rather than go to a trial.

<sup>9</sup> William Prynne, as already mentioned, was a barrister. Henry Burton, a divine, was born in Yorkshire in 1579; he had been tutor to several noblemen, and at one time was clerk of the closet to Prince Charles, in which office he was superseded by Bishop Laud. He became incumbent of St. Matthew, Friday-street, London, and preached there, on Nov. 5, 1636, a sermon from Proverbs xxiv. 21, 22, which occasioned his citation before the High Commission Court. John Bastwick was born in Essex in 1593; he studied at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, had long travelled abroad, and had recently settled as a physician at Colchester, when his vehement book against episcopacy brought him into trouble.

The punishments inflicted on these men have brought great odium on the court which ordered them, though it cannot be denied that their conduct seemed intended as a direct challenge to authority, to lay its hand heavily upon them; and under even the last of the Tudors they would have lost their lives, if we may judge by the fate of the Brownists<sup>b</sup>. It must also be borne in mind that the ordinary courts then habitually passed sentences of extreme severity in cases of ordinary character, where no political offence was alleged.

Prynne had already suffered four years' imprisonment for his "*Histriomastix*," but, undeterred by this, he contrived to have printed<sup>d</sup>, beside some smaller matters, "*A Divine Tragedy, containing a catalogue of God's judgments against Sabbath-breakers*," in which the clergy who read the Book of Sports were classed with the most heinous offenders. Burton also, while in the hands of the court for his sermon, printed "*News from Ipswich*," containing charges of Romish innovation against Bishop Wren, of Norwich, whose fidelity to the Church had rendered him very odious to the Puritans. Bastwick, who had published a book called "*Elenchus Papismi*," identifying prelacy and popery, when questioned for it, in the same spirit of contumacy followed it up with "*A New Litany*." The works of the whole were worded in the

<sup>b</sup> See Part III., A.D. 1583, 1593.

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 1633.

<sup>d</sup> How this was effected is told in some Starchamber papers preserved in the Public Record Office. The father of Prynne's servant was a cheesemonger in Newgate market, and a printing-office in which one Gregory Dexter worked was close adjoining. To him Prynne's servant brought manuscripts, promising that he should be well paid for his labour. Prynne, walking out with his keeper, often came to Wickens' house, and was there taken into a private room, where Dexter brought him proofs, and remained whilst he examined them. In order that the keeper might be able to swear that he had seen nothing of this, he was by the good man of the house "persuaded to go upstairs, and not stay in the open shop." Dexter and two other printers were examined in the Starchamber on this matter, and in consequence, the delinquent keeper and the servant were both committed to the messenger of the court, in whose custody they remained a considerable time.

style of the most offensive of the Mar-Prelate tracts<sup>e</sup>; and the writers, when in gaol, so openly defied all authority<sup>f</sup>, that the judges declared it was only owing to the king's mercy that they were not charged with treason.

Prynne was already under sentence of what, for a man of his unbending temper, was probably equivalent to imprisonment for life<sup>g</sup>; the same sentence was now pronounced against the other two. They were all fined £5,000 each, degraded from their professions, placed in the pillory, their ears cut off<sup>h</sup>, their cheeks and foreheads branded<sup>i</sup>, and they were then removed to Lancaster, Launceston, and Carnarvon. Vehement expressions of sympathy with Prynne on his journey through Coventry and Chester, which almost amounted to riots, causing his keepers to apprehend a rescue, and for which both places were heavily fined, occasioned a change in their destinations, (Aug. 27,) and they were sent, Prynne to Jersey<sup>j</sup>, Burton to Guernsey, and Bastwick to Scilly,

<sup>e</sup> See Part III., A.D. 1593.

<sup>f</sup> The answers that they prepared to the articles exhibited against them were so violent that no advocates could be found to incur the responsibility of presenting them; hence they declared that they were condemned unheard. One specimen of these answers is preserved by Whitelock: "That the prelates are invaders of the king's prerogative royal, contemners and despisers of the Holy Scriptures, advancers of popery, superstition, idolatry, and profaneness; also they abuse the king's authority, to the oppression of his loyal subjects, and therein exercise great cruelty, tyranny, and injustice; and in execution of those impious performances they shew neither wit, honesty, nor temperance. Nor are they either servants of God or of the king, but of the devil, being enemies of God and the king, and of every living thing that is good. All which the said Dr. Bastwick is ready to maintain," &c.

<sup>g</sup> He was to be imprisoned until he made submission; but this was a customary judgment, and not meant as any peculiar hardship on him.

<sup>h</sup> Prynne had already suffered this mutilation; what remained of his ears was pared off so closely that his life was, by his partisans, said to be endangered; but the incidents of his journey to his distant prison of Carnarvon immediately after shew this to be a gross exaggeration.

<sup>i</sup> Clarendon, though condemning the men as persons of bad repute, remarks on the insult offered to the learned professions by this proceeding, and says, "Every profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their education, and degrees, and quality, would have secured them from such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for the time to come." The letters branded were "S.L." for "seditious libeller;" but Prynne wrote an epigram, in which he interpreted them as standing for "Stigmata Laudi."

<sup>j</sup> His removal from Carnarvon to Jersey was, in consequence of bad

where they remained until released by order of the Long Parliament.

The Puritans chose to attribute the severity of the sentences to Archbishop Laud, and affixed placards in conspicuous places, saying, that "the arch-wolf of Canterbury had his hand in persecuting the saints and shedding the blood of the martyrs<sup>k</sup>." It appears, however, not only from his own speech<sup>l</sup>, but from the records of the court, that this was not a true statement of the facts of the case.

A decree of the Starchamber is issued for the regulation of printing and letter-founding, July 1.

By this edict the press, and all parties connected with it, were placed under the most rigorous surveillance. The number of master-printers was limited to twenty, (named in the decree,) who were to give security for good behaviour in £300, and were to have not more than two presses and two apprentices each, unless they were, or had been, masters or wardens of the Stationers' Company; then they might have three presses, and a like number of apprentices; and there were to be but four letter-founders. One penalty for almost every offence

weather, a matter of some difficulty, and occupied a great length of time. The vessel in which he was embarked left Carnarvon on the 9th October, 1637, and did not reach Jersey until January 18, 1638. One Robert Anwill had him in charge, and the whole cost, as appears by his account among the State Papers, was £106 10s. Prynne remained in Jersey till November, 1640, but the terms of his sentence, which prohibited him the use of pen, ink and paper, were relaxed, and he contrived to live much at his ease; he kept up communication with his partisans in England, as well as with his fellow prisoner, Burton, in Guernsey; and when recalled, they landed together at Southampton.

<sup>k</sup> One such placard was affixed on Paul's cross, July 9, 1637.

<sup>l</sup> He treated Burton as the chief offender, and replied at length to fourteen charges of Romish innovation urged by him; said that, having answered Rabshakeh, he should not confute his associates; and concluded, "Because the business hath some reflection on myself, I shall forbear to censure them, and leave them to God's mercy and the king's justice." Neither he nor Bishop Juxon took any part in determining the sentences, as is shewn by the records of the Starchamber still existing. The custom of the court was for each member to set down in writing what sentence he thought suitable, but on this occasion the prelates declined to vote, considering themselves, in a measure, interested parties.



was disability to exercise the profession either as master or journeyman; and as this would probably result in "printing in corners without licence," practising the arts of printing, book-binding, letter-founding, or making any part of a press, or other printing materials, by persons disqualified, or not apprenticed thereto<sup>m</sup>, was to be punished by whipping, the pillory, and imprisonment. No books were to be reprinted without a fresh licence, although they might have been formerly examined and allowed. Books brought from abroad were to be landed in London only, and each was to be examined by persons appointed by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, who had power to seize and destroy all "seditious, schismatical, or offensive" productions; and periodical searches were to be made both of booksellers' shops and private houses. The activity of the Puritans, however, was more than a match for the law, and books fully deserving all these titles were as widely circulated as before<sup>n</sup>, and had a great share in producing the convulsions that followed<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> In the time of Elizabeth a private press was discovered in the house of a Romanist lady (Mrs. Stonar), the workmen being her domestic servants.

<sup>n</sup> Some were imported from abroad, but much the greater number were printed at secret presses in England.

<sup>o</sup> One person who suffered for distributing the books of Prynne and his friends was the noted John Lilburne, then a London apprentice of eighteen (he was born at Durham, of a gentleman's family, in 1616). He bore a severe whipping from the Fleet to Westminster (April 18, 1638) with a stoicism which procured for him the name of "Sturdy John," and, being released from prison by the Long Parliament, he took up arms in their cause, fought desperately at Edgehill, Brentford, and elsewhere, and gained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. A money compensation was voted to him, but this it seems he only received in part, and the remainder of his life was passed in vain efforts to obtain it, and in quarrels with every one with whom he came in contact. His general, the earl of Manchester, complained of his insubordination, and he was committed to the Tower; Cromwell procured his release, but he was soon again imprisoned for "writing a seditious book," and when he regained his liberty, so far from seeking to conciliate those in power, he joined the Levellers, and, beside other works, wrote his "England's new Chains," in which the hypocrisy and tyranny of the Council of State and Cromwell were mercilessly exposed. For this he was tried on a charge of treason in 1649, but acquitted. By a most extravagant stretch of power he was banished by Act of Parliament, early in 1652, and, in strict accordance with his character, refused to kneel at the bar while receiving sentence. When the parliament was overthrown by Crom-

**A.D. 1637.** The bishop of Lincoln (John Williams) being proceeded against in the Starchamber for sedition and libel<sup>r</sup>, is heavily fined and imprisoned, July 11. He is also suspended from office by the High Commission Court, July 24.

### SCOTLAND.

A book of canons is prepared for Scotland; and a liturgy, differing in some points from that of the Church of England, is ordered to be used there. Its first celebration at Edinburgh (Sunday, July 23) is marked by great tumult, and the Scottish council forbear to press the matter further.

The canons and liturgy had been prepared by the Scottish prelates, and revised by the archbishop of Canterbury, and they contained nothing but what had been all along held for sound doctrine and orderly discipline by the Church of England; but their introducers overlooked the very important fact, that the Reformation in Scotland had been carried on by men who shook the throne, and regarded episcopacy as contrary to the Gospel, and that their disciples were little likely to receive with favour a book which asserted the divine right of

well, Lilburne returned, and addressed "The Banished Man's Plea" to him, but instead of favour was sent for trial. Here he conducted himself with singular address, and was, after a three days' trial, acquitted. Cromwell, however, committed him a prisoner to Jersey, but at length became reconciled to him, and by letter of privy seal, dated March 31, 1656, granted him a pension of 40s. a-week, which was on Dec. 22, 1657, continued to his widow Elizabeth. Lilburne had joined the new sect of Quakers, and was buried among them, Aug. 31, 1657, the funeral being accompanied by a quarrel which nearly ended in blows, from a difference of opinion among his admirers as to using or dispensing with a pall to his coffin.

He had long favoured the Puritans, and a formal complaint on the subject appears to have been made by petition to the king at least as early as 1628, by one Henry Alleyn, a proctor, setting forth "certain disloyal and derogatory speeches uttered by him of the king," and charging him with acts unsuitable in a Churchman; his papers being now seized, some of them were pronounced libellous. The speech charged against him not being fully proved, it was said that he had tampered with the witnesses. His friend, Dr. Osbaldistone, who had written some letters which gave offence, succeeded in concealing himself, but the bishop was imprisoned until the general release of political prisoners in 1640.

kings, or a form of service which restrained the freedom of praying and preaching and ministering of the sacraments according to his own views, that each minister of the Scottish kirk had so long exercised. This neglect was aggravated by an injudicious mode of proceeding. The canons and the liturgy were introduced merely by the royal authority, without any reference to the General Assembly, the recognised organ of the Scottish kirk, and hence they were plausibly represented as offensive at once to the national independence<sup>1</sup>, and to the "pure evangel" of Christ.

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A proclamation published, Aug. 18, stating the king's determination to uphold the power of the High Commission and other ecclesiastical courts<sup>2</sup>.

The people repair in multitudes to Edinburgh, in October, and petition the council to procure the withdrawal of the new Service-book. The council orders them to return to their homes, but the direction is disregarded. Several of the council being assailed in the streets, (Oct..18,) its session is removed to Linlithgow, and many of the bishops retire to England.

The petition of the people (to whom many of the nobility and gentry had now joined themselves) is forwarded to the king. He sends in answer a proclamation (dated Dec. 7) forbidding such assemblies under the penalty of treason, but the council hesitate as to publishing it.

<sup>1</sup> Scruples on this very point actuated the king himself, but he was unfortunately induced to abandon them.

<sup>2</sup> The civilians in these courts laboured zealously to extend their jurisdiction, which gave rise to great jealousy on the part of the lawyers; hence prohibitions were readily granted by the other courts to stay proceedings. These prohibitions it was the delight of the nonconformists to procure, and they were brought into court in the most offensive manner. Archbishop Laud mentions one thrown into the court, which struck him on the breast; and another handed to the judge, amid jeers and laughter, on a stick. Conduct like this must be taken into account, if we would judge fairly of the severities exercised in the reign.

**A.D. 1638.** The king's proclamation is at length published at Edinburgh, Feb. 15.

The earl of Home and several other noblemen, the clergy and gentry, protest against its denial of their right of petitioning, and under the name of Tables, form a kind of provisional government, which keeps possession of Edinburgh, and in effect rules the whole country.

The Covenant<sup>a</sup> is drawn up and published by the Tables, March 1, and is eagerly signed by all classes.

A fresh proclamation issued, forbidding persons to remove to New England without licence, May 1.

The marquis of Hamilton is sent as commissioner to Scotland in June. He fails to procure the renunciation of the Covenant.

A commission appointed to prosecute offenders against the statute of Elizabeth relating to cottages<sup>b</sup>, Aug. 22.

The king sends a declaration (dated Sept. 9), abandoning the canons and liturgy, and promising to call a general assembly and a parliament.

The people, without waiting for the royal permission, elect a general assembly<sup>c</sup>, which meets at Glasgow, Nov. 21. The bishops protest against the assembly as illegal, and the marquis formally dissolves it, Nov. 28; but it sits notwithstanding, till Dec. 20, pronounces the abolition of episcopacy, deposes the bishops in a body, and excommunicates four of their number.

The Covenanters prepare for war. They levy taxes, seize on and garrison the fortresses, enter into formal

<sup>a</sup> This professed to be based on a document which James VI. had signed in the year 1580, but a number of clauses were added, that gave it a new character; the most important was one by which the subscribers bound themselves to resist the attempted innovations against all persons whatever.

<sup>b</sup> See Part III., A.D. 1589. This commission, which, it would appear, was only used to raise money by compounding with the offenders, was revoked April 9, 1639.

<sup>c</sup> It was composed, contrary to the king's wish, of equal numbers of ministers and laymen (styled ruling elders).

communications with France, invite Scottish officers and soldiers from the German wars, and correspond with the Puritan party in England\*.

**A.D. 1639.** The Scots issue a declaration, (Feb. 7,) asserting that they have no evil intention towards the king or the English people, but have taken up arms for their defence from the "meditated introduction of popery."

The king levies troops against the Scots, and publishes a declaration, (Feb. 27,) charging them with seeking to overthrow the regal power under pretence of religion.

The Scots seize the castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, Stirling, and other strong posts, in March.

The king's army, under the earls of Arundel, Essex, and Holland, marches to York, committing many excesses in its way<sup>2</sup>. A fleet, under the marquis of Hamilton, sails into the Frith of Forth.

The king repairs to York, in April, where he revokes a number of oppressive grants and monopolies.

The English army advances as far as Berwick, but soon retires without coming to hostilities. The Scots then send commissioners to York; a pacification<sup>3</sup> is concluded, June 18, and the king soon after returns to London.

\* "I wanted not solicitations on the behalf of the Covenanters," says Whitelock, "but I persuaded my friends not to foment these growing public differences, nor to be any means of encouraging a foreign nation, proud and subtle, against our natural prince, and feared great and evil consequences thereof."

<sup>2</sup> The men were pressed into the service, and were but badly supplied with either food or clothing. The pay of the private soldiers was 8d. per day, from which they were to receive 2s. 6d. per week for their food, and the remainder was to furnish them with two suits of clothing yearly. The poverty of the exchequer, however, made the money payment very uncertain, and the hungry men plundered for food.

<sup>3</sup> By this treaty the Scottish army was to be immediately disbanded, and the royal fortresses surrendered, but neither was done, and the Covenanters pursued with rigour all who had taken arms for the king. Disputes also arose about the terms of the treaty, and the Scots published a paper concerning it, which was adjudged libellous and seditious by the council in England, and was ordered to be burnt by the hangman.

Sir Henry Vane made secretary of state<sup>a</sup>, Aug.

The Scottish assembly and parliament meet in August; they formally abolish episcopacy, and propose acts limiting the royal power. The parliament is in consequence prorogued by the king's commissioner (John Stuart, earl of Traquair), but they protest against this as invalid without their own consent, and send deputies to present a remonstrance to the king.

A Spanish fleet is defeated by the Dutch in the Downs<sup>a</sup>, Oct. 11, 12.

The king prepares for a fresh war with the Scots. Large sums are procured from the Romanists by the queen's influence, whence the force equipped is indiguously styled "the popish army."

**A.D. 1640.** The Scots send fresh commissioners to London, one of whom (Lord Loudoun) is detected in a correspondence with the French ministers, and is sent to the Tower.

The king, by the advice of Wentworth and Laud, calls a parliament, after eleven years' cessation, which meets April 13<sup>b</sup>. The former dispute as to voting supplies before grievances are redressed is at once resumed, and, after some ineffectual conferences between the two Houses, the parliament is dissolved, May 5.

The convocation continues its sitting until May 29,

<sup>a</sup> He was of a northern family that had settled in Kent, and was born Feb. 18, 1589. He had been employed as an ambassador, was knighted in 1611, and at the time of his promotion was treasurer of the royal household. Secretary Coke, a friend of Strafford, was displaced to make room for him, and some contemptuous expressions ascribed to Strafford on the occasion made Vane his deadly enemy. He was a main instrument in the conviction of Strafford, and soon after retired from public life. He died at Raby in 1654.

<sup>a</sup> The Spaniards lay in the Downs some days before they were attacked, and the king offered to escort them safely to Flanders or Spain for a sum of money; but whilst the negotiation was pending, the Dutch bore down on them and destroyed them, although the English fleet was present under Admiral Pennington.

<sup>b</sup> Sergeant Glanville was Speaker; and William Lenthall chairman of committee of the whole House.

in virtue of an opinion of the law-officers of the crown. It grants a subsidy of £120,000, and frames canons, in which the divine right of kings and the duty of passive obedience are inculcated\*.

An attack is made on Archbishop Laud's palace at Lambeth, May 11. This, as "levying war," is held to be treason by the judges, and one man is executed for it, May 23.

Contributions to the amount of £300,000 are raised for the king's service, and his army, commanded by the earls of Northumberland and Strafford, and Lord Conway, advances against the Scots.

The Scots enter England, Aug. 20. They pass the Tyne at Newburn, defeating there a party of the English, Aug. 28, and take possession of Newcastle.

The king, who had remained at York, summons the peers to meet him there on Sept. 24.

They assemble, when the king informs them of his intention to call a parliament, and gives a commission to the earl of Essex and fifteen other peers to treat with commissioners from the Scots. A cessation of arms is agreed on, at Ripon, Oct. 26, and the discussion of the various demands removed to London†.

The High Commission Court sits for the last time, at St. Paul's, Oct. 22, when the people make a tumult,

\* An oath was also imposed by one canon (the sixth), "for the preventing of all innovations in doctrine and government," refusal to take which was to be punished by the loss of all ecclesiastical preferment. Another canon (the fifth), "Against Sectaries," subjected "Anabaptists, Brownists, Separatists, Familists," and other dissentients to the same proceedings and penalties, as far as applicable, as Romish recusants, and directed the burning of any "book, writing, or scandalous pamphlet devised against the government of the Church," equally with those inculcating Socinianism. The continuing of this convocation after the parliament had been dissolved was made an accusation against Archbishop Laud, though he had acted by legal advice. In fact, even an opponent (Whitelock) confesses the difficulty of his position, for he says, "The clergy were in danger of the king's displeasure if they rose, and of the people's fury if they sat."

† One of the Scottish commissioners was Alexander Henderson, a preacher. The church of St. Augustine by St. Paul's was given up to him, and his violent sermons had great effect in augmenting the popular discontent.

tear up the benches, and cry, "No Bishops! no High Commission!"

The parliament meets<sup>a</sup> Nov. 3. "The first week," says Whitelock, "was spent in naming general committees, and establishing them<sup>f</sup>, and receiving a great many petitions, both from particular persons and some from multitudes, and brought by troops of horsemen from several counties, craving redress of grievances and of exorbitances, both in Church and State."

The bishop of Lincoln<sup>g</sup>, Prynne, Burton, Bastwick<sup>h</sup>, Leighton, Lilburne, Chambers<sup>i</sup>, and many others, imprisoned by sentence of the Star-chamber or Court of High Commission, bring forward complaints of their treatment. A committee is appointed to investigate the same, and the petitioners are ordered to be brought to London.

<sup>a</sup> They choose for their Speaker William Lenthall, (see p. 81), a benchman of Lincoln's Inn, and member for Woodstock, "a man of a very narrow, timorous nature," says Clarendon. He was born in 1591 at Henley on Thames, and was educated at Alban Hall, Oxford. He remained Speaker until the Parliament was dispersed by Cromwell in 1653, and was reinstated in Feb. 1660. He had been made Master of the Rolls in 1643 by the Parliament, and he received from them the estate of Burford Priory, a sequestered property of Lord Falkland. At the Restoration he received a pardon, through the good offices of the earl of Norwich and Colonel Legg. He died Sept. 3, 1662, and was buried at Burford.

<sup>f</sup> See Note, p. 42.

<sup>g</sup> See A.D. 1637.

<sup>h</sup> A money compensation was voted to them, but it does not appear to have been paid to the two latter, who took no further part in public affairs. Burton died in January, 1648, and Bastwick in October, 1654; Bastwick's widow (Susanna), however, received (July 7, 1655) a pension of 20s. weekly from Cromwell, which was increased to 40s. Dec. 24, 1655, as appears by the letters of privy seal. Prynne fared better, as he was employed in collecting the evidence against Archbishop Laud, when he treated the captive with extreme harshness. He at length became obnoxious to the army for opposing the murder of the king, and he was imprisoned for a time in Dunster Castle by the Council of State; he lived unnoticed during the Protectorate, and at the Restoration he obtained the office of keeper of the records in the Tower, which he held till his death, in 1669.

<sup>i</sup> The sum of £13,680 was voted to Chambers, as a compensation for his sufferings and losses out of a fine of £50,000 imposed on the farmers of the customs. A petition of his to the parliament in 1654 states that he received none of this money, and had been deprived of a place in the customs granted to him in lieu of it. In 1656 (July 31) he had letters of privy seal granting him the above sum out of the moiety of any discoveries of concealed lands, &c., that he might make; but he did not succeed in this, and he died in poverty Aug. 20, 1658.



The House expels "projectors" and monopolists<sup>k</sup>.

Prynne and Burton arrive in London, Nov. 27<sup>l</sup>.

The Commons present articles of impeachment against the earl of Strafford<sup>m</sup>, Nov. 11, when he is committed to the custody of the usher. He is removed to the Tower, Nov. 25.

The king at first refuses to allow any of his council to be examined by the parliament, but soon gives way, and Archbishop Laud is so examined, Dec. 4.

Sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state, being accused of corruptly favouring Romanists, escapes to France<sup>n</sup>. The lord keeper, Finch of Fordwich, being impeached, after a speech in his own defence (Dec. 15) before the Commons, flees to Holland<sup>o</sup>.

The canons lately made are voted unlawful, after a two days' debate, Dec. 16. Archbishop Laud is named as their author, the Scots present a complaint against him as "the great incendiary," and he is committed to the custody of the usher, Dec. 18.

The archbishop is fined £500 as amends to Sir Robert Howard, imprisoned by the ecclesiastical court in 1637<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> This, however, was only partially done, according to Clarendon, none of their own party suffering, though notoriously guilty.

<sup>l</sup> Nehemiah Wallington, the Puritan, exultingly describes the scene. "O remember this great mercy of God, that those worthy and dear servants of God, Mr. Burton and Mr. Prynne, came to London with very great honour, many thousands meeting of them, some in coaches, some on horseback riding in ranks, and some on foot, and all with rosemary and bay in their hands." Bastwick arrived on Dec. 7, and was received "with as great honour and respect."

<sup>m</sup> The principal man in this proceeding was Mr. Pym, who made the first speech, and presented the articles. He was born in Somersetshire in 1584, was a lawyer, and had once held an office in the Exchequer. He had sat in the two preceding parliaments, and was regarded with much deference by his party. Pym died in the year 1643.

<sup>n</sup> He died there soon after.

<sup>o</sup> He had, as chief justice, been very instrumental in procuring the other judges' opinions in favour of ship-money; had been a prominent member of the Star Chamber, and was believed to have advised the sudden dissolution of the last parliament. He returned at the Restoration, sat on the trial of the regicides, and died shortly after (Nov. 20, 1660).

<sup>p</sup> Sir Robert had contracted an adulterous marriage with the Viscountess Purbeck (a daughter of Chief Justice Coke), and had rescued her from con-

**A.D. 1641.** The Commons order that "commissions be sent into all counties for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away of all images, altars, or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches or chapels<sup>1</sup>," Jan. 23.

Sir Edward Lyttelton is made lord keeper<sup>2</sup>, Jan 23.

The charges against the earl of Strafford (twenty-eight in number<sup>3</sup>) are laid before the House of Lords, Jan. 30.

Sir Robert Berkley, one of the judges, accused of high treason<sup>4</sup>, is seized on the bench and committed to prison, Feb. 13.

An act passed (Feb. 15) "for the prevention of inconveniences happening by the long intermission of parliaments," [16 Car. I. c. 1]. This important act provides for the meeting of a parliament at least once in three years; imposes an oath on the lord chancellor and other officers concerned to issue the necessary writs, and, in case of the default of any of them, empowers the people to elect representatives, who shall meet on the third Monday in January; the House of Commons so formed, as

finement when sentenced to a public penance; for this he suffered an imprisonment of three months in the Gatehouse at Westminster.

<sup>1</sup> In consequence, the crosses of Charing, St. Paul's, and Cheapside were thrown down by Sir Robert Harlow; other fanatics desecrated the churches, and hindered the public service. The journal of one of the commissioners (William Dowsing, employed in the eastern counties,) has been preserved and published. It fully bears out the complaints of Bishop Hall and others of most vile and barbarous profanation. See Note, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> He continued with the parliament some time after the king had left London, but then repaired to him, taking the great seal with him, which obliged the parliament to fabricate a new seal for themselves. He died in office, Aug. 27, 1645.

<sup>3</sup> There were at first but nine articles, but these were afterwards amplified into the above number. He was charged with ruling Ireland and the north of England by the sword, and endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws; with stirring up hostility with Scotland, and labouring to subvert parliaments. The Scottish commissioners and some members of the Irish parliament also brought heavy charges against him, but they were in substance contained in the articles exhibited by the House of Commons.

<sup>4</sup> His "treason" consisted in having given an opinion that the ship-money writs were legal. He was subsequently released without trial, on payment of a composition of £10,000.

well as the House of Peers, being incapable of being prorogued or dissolved under fifty days from their first meeting without their own consent<sup>a</sup>.

The charges against Archbishop Laud<sup>b</sup> are brought forward, Feb. 26. He is sent to the Tower, March 1.

The House of Commons passes a vote against bishops sitting in parliament, or any clerk holding temporal authority, March 10.

The earl of Strafford's trial commences, before the earl of Arundel, as high steward, and the House of Peers, March 22.

In the course of the trial (April 13), a paper is produced against him<sup>c</sup>, purporting to be minutes of advice given by him at the council-table, May 5, 1640, ("You have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience"). He denies its genuineness; various points of law are argued by his counsel, and the Peers seem unlikely to convict him.

The Commons then pass a bill of attainder against him<sup>d</sup>, April 21, to which the Lords at length consent, April 29.

<sup>a</sup> This act was repealed in 1664 [16 Car. II. c. 1], as derogatory to the Crown.

<sup>b</sup> There were fourteen original and ten supplementary articles, but all may be comprised under the three heads of endeavouring (1) to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm and introduce arbitrary government; (2) to subvert true religion and introduce popery; and (3) to subvert the rights of parliament.

<sup>c</sup> It was brought forward by Sir Henry Vane, who asserted that he had found it among the papers of his father, the secretary of state. "Sir Harry the younger," as he was called, was born in 1612, and was educated at Westminster School and Magdalen Hall, Oxford. He was of a wild, visionary temperament, and resided for some time among the extreme Puritans in America. On his return, he was made joint treasurer of the navy, and was knighted. He was an active member of the "root and branch" party, had a great share in introducing the Covenant and the Self-denying Ordinance, and is described by Clarendon as the only one of the commissioners at Newport who did not desire the success of the negotiations. After the murder of the king, he became a member of the Council of State, but retired into the country when Cromwell seized the government. He was disliked and imprisoned by the Protector, but sat in Richard's parliament, and was for a short time President of the Council on Richard's fall. He was condemned and executed in 1662.

<sup>d</sup> Lord Digby, son of the earl of Bristol, and fifty-eight others voted against it; their names were posted in the streets as "Straffordians, who, to

The king addresses the parliament, desiring them to spare the life of the earl, "whom in honour and conscience he cannot believe guilty of treason, and therefore will not consent to the bill against him," but confessing him to be unfit evermore to be employed in any place of trust, May 1.

Some preachers on the next day (Sunday) incite the multitude to demand the execution of the earl. They accordingly repair tumultuously to Westminster the following day, May 3.

The king endeavours to procure the escape of the earl from the Tower, but the plan is frustrated by the vigilance of the lieutenant, Sir William Balfour<sup>a</sup>.

A plan to bring the English army from the north to overawe the parliament<sup>a</sup> is discovered. The Commons in consequence draw up a Protestation (May 3) of their resolve to maintain the Protestant faith against Romish innovation, to protect the king's person, the freedom of the parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subject, and to bring to condign punishment all who shall attempt anything to the contrary. This Protestation was also taken by the peers and bishops, but a bill intended to impose it on all classes was rejected.

All persons bringing in foreign forces declared public enemies, May 5.

The king at length gives his consent, by commission, to the act of attainder of the earl of Strafford<sup>b</sup> [16 Car. I.

save a traitor, would betray their country." The House, when complained to, refused to notice this interference with its freedom of debate.

<sup>a</sup> He was a Scottish Covenanter, who had been placed in that office at the express demand of the Commons.

<sup>b</sup> The plan, in which Jermyn, Goring, Legg, and other royal officers were participators, was clearly proved to have received the sanction of the king, and it served ever after with his adversaries as an argument of his bad faith.

<sup>c</sup> Strafford wrote a letter on the 4th of May to the king, requesting that his death might be the means of reconciliation, but Charles is understood to have yielded to the sophistical reasoning of the bishop of Lincoln, and even his devoted subject, Archbishop Laud, cannot forbear to censure him. He justly remarks, that the king's speech of his determination not to assent to

c. 38], May 10; as also to an act "to prevent inconveniences which may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving of this present Parliament" [c. 7], which provides that neither House shall be adjourned except at their own order, or the parliament dissolved except by act of parliament<sup>c</sup>.

The king sends a letter to the Lords, requesting them to confer with the Commons on some means of sparing the earl's life, May 11. They decline to do so, and he is beheaded on Tower-Hill<sup>d</sup>, May 12.

The pacification with Scotland ratified by parliament [c. 17], and £300,000 ordered to be raised as "friendly assistance and relief promised to our brethren of Scotland<sup>e</sup>," [c. 18].

A subsidy of tunnage and poundage granted [c. 8]. This grant was but from May 25 to July 15, 1641<sup>f</sup>, and any officer presuming to levy it after that time was to

the bill "displeased mightily, and I verily think it hastened the earl's death. And, indeed, to what end should the king come voluntarily to say this, and there, unless he would have bided by it, whatever came? And it had been far more regal to reject the bill when it had been brought to him, (his conscience standing so as his Majesty openly professed it did,) than to make this honourable preface, and let the bill pass after."

<sup>c</sup> The reason assigned for this act, which in reality overthrew the royal authority, was, that the large sums of money necessary to be borrowed for the payment of the armies, which it was desired to disband, could not be had "until such obstacles are first removed as are occasioned by fears, jealousies, and apprehensions of divers his Majesty's loyal subjects, that this present parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved before justice shall be duly executed upon delinquents, public grievances redressed, a firm peace between the two nations of England and Scotland concluded, and before sufficient provision be made for the repayment of the said moneys so to be raised."

<sup>d</sup> As he passed to execution he received the blessing of his fellow-captive, Archbishop Laud, who, in the history of his own Troubles and Trial, thus notices his death: "In their judgment who were men of worth, and some upon, some near the scaffold, he made a patient, and pious, and courageous end; inasmuch, that some doubted whether his death had more of the Roman or the Christian in it, it was so full of both. And, notwithstanding this hard fate which fell upon him, he is dead with more honour than any of them will gain which hunted after his life."

<sup>e</sup> To assist in raising the money, half of the plate of all persons having above £20 worth, was ordered to be brought in and coined.

<sup>f</sup> The grant was continued, by six subsequent acts [cc. 12, 22, 25, 29, 31, 36], to July 2, 1642; the purpose evidently being to extort concessions as the price of each renewal.

incur the penalties of *præmunire*, and also be disabled during his life to sue in any court.

A poll-tax is levied for the payment and disbanding of both armies, [c. 9]. Dukes were to pay £100; bishops £60; other ranks less; gentlemen of £100 per annum were taxed at £5; freemen of companies, 1s.; and meaner persons, 6d. Romish recusants were assessed at double rates.

The bishop of Norwich (Matthew Wren) is committed to the Tower, on the complaint of the Commons, July 5.

Five of the judges who had argued in favour of ship-money (Bramston, Crawley, Davenport, Trevor, and Weston) are imprisoned. An act is passed whereby all their proceedings in the matter are declared void, and all records and processes concerning the same made void and cancelled, [c. 14].

An act passed "for regulating the Privy Council, and for taking away the court commonly called the Starchamber," [c. 10]. This act asserts that all matters heretofore examined in the Starchamber are cognizable by the common law, affirms that the king and his council have no jurisdiction, power, or authority over any man's estate\*, and forbids the attempt to exercise such by any officer whatever, on pain of £500 penalty for the first offence, £1,000 for the second, and disability to hold office, or to make or receive any gift, grant, or conveyance of lands, &c., for the third.

The High Commission Court abolished, and the erection of any new court with like powers forbidden, [c. 11].

The Stannary and Forest Courts regulated, [cc. 15, 16]. The jurisdiction of the first was confined, under

\* As a consequence of this, the court of the president and council of the North, the council of Wales, and the palatine courts of Lancaster and Chester, were abolished, the first entirely, the others only so far as they had imitated the arbitrary jurisdiction of the Starchamber.

heavy penalties, to causes arising among the tinnars; and the limits of forests were ordered to be ascertained by commissioners<sup>a</sup>.

Writs to compel the taking of the order of knight-hood abolished<sup>1</sup>, [c. 20].

An act passed for the relief of captives taken by Turkish, Moorish, and other pirates, [c. 24]. For this purpose an additional duty of 5 per cent. was laid on merchandize for three years. It was to be received by the corporation of London, and laid out by a committee of both Houses in providing for the safeguard of the seas, the neglect of which, by evil ministers, the act states, had occasioned many to be taken captives, who, being used with extreme cruelty, had become renegades<sup>b</sup>.

The sum of £61,125 12s. 2d. voted as compensation to Hollis, Selden, Chambers, and others<sup>1</sup>, July 8.

The English and Scottish armies are disbanded on the same day, Aug. 6.

The king goes to Scotland early in August. He is followed by Lord Howard of Eskrick, Sir Philip Stapleton and Mr. Hampden, who keep up the intercourse between the malcontents in both kingdoms.

The Commons impeach thirteen of the bishops for their share in the canons of 1640<sup>m</sup>, Aug. 13.

The Scottish parliament assembles, Aug. 17. All the recent proceedings against the bishops are confirmed by the king, and a portion of their revenues appropriated to the various Universities. The king gives new titles

<sup>a</sup> At the same time the Earl Marshal's Court was voted a grievance, and abolished, without the passing of any statute.

<sup>1</sup> No person was in future to be compelled to take the order, or to compound for his respite or refusal, "under pretext of an ancient custom or usage."

<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 1609.

<sup>1</sup> This compensation was very partially paid, the parliament men receiving the most; but the greater number of claims were neglected altogether, and, as before mentioned, Chambers died 18 years after in abject poverty.

<sup>m</sup> See p. 8a.

and important offices to the chief actors in the late troubles<sup>a</sup>.

The parliament adjourns, Sept. 9, but both Houses appoint committees to sit during the recess.

The committee of the Peers consisted of the EARL OF ESSEX<sup>o</sup> (whom the king had lately appointed general of his forces south of Trent, with extensive powers,) and fifteen others; they confined themselves to the business of correspondence with the officers charged with the disbanding of the armies. The committee of the Commons acted very differently; they were fifty in number, and had for their chairman Mr. Pym, under whose direction they became in effect the rulers of the nation. They carried on inquiries regarding those whom the House had voted delinquents; listened to every information, whether well or ill-founded, which might discredit the king and his ministers, and issued orders on all kinds of subjects, merely on their own authority. But, as might be expected, their chief efforts were directed to overthrow the constitution of the Church, which Archbishop Laud had so zealously laboured to uphold; they thrust their own partisans into vacant livings, practised every kind of annoyance and injury to the clergy, suspended the performance of the Liturgy, and encouraged in the populace a contempt for holy places and things, which soon resulted in the most grievous profanation of churches and tombs, and in the open promulgation of the impious opinions of the Anabaptists and Socinians.

<sup>a</sup> Alexander Lesléy, the general, was made earl of Leven; lord Loudoun (formerly imprisoned for corresponding with the French king), an earl; the earl of Argyle was created a marquis.

<sup>o</sup> Robert Devereux, eldest son of the favourite of Elizabeth, born in 1591. He had long served in the Netherlands, and was esteemed a good general. When the civil war broke out he was appointed commander in chief of the parliamentary forces, his pay being fixed at the large sum of £10,000 per annum. He was displaced in 1645, and died Sept. 14, 1646.



## IRELAND.

A.D. 1641. A formidable insurrection breaks out in the north of Ireland, Oct. 23.

The success of the Scots in their recent contest inspired the Romanists of Ireland with a hope of obtaining in like manner a redress of many grievances, under which they had long laboured, and regarding which they had just reason to complain of the bad faith of the king and his advisers<sup>p</sup>. Their ancient customs had been declared illegal by the courts; whole counties had been claimed as belonging to the crown, on the most iniquitous pretexts<sup>q</sup>; the property of their oldest and wealthiest families had been thus greatly diminished, and what remained to them was manifestly insecure. Added to this, the vehement language of the Puritan party, which had now gained so fatal an ascendancy in England, filled them with fears of a settled design to extirpate their religion; and, whilst they were excluded from offices of honour or profit, they saw the humble dependants of the "undertakers" for the new plantations sitting in parlia-

<sup>p</sup> In 1628 the king had, for a large sum of money (£120,000), agreed to a series of Graces, as they were termed, by which, among other things, the oath of supremacy was dispensed with, recusants were allowed to practise in the courts of law, and a promise was given that claims by the crown to concealed property should be limited to sixty years. It was promised that these concessions should be ratified by a parliament, but by the dishonest management of Wentworth this was defeated, although the money had been paid.

<sup>q</sup> Wentworth, in his letters, avows his opinion that Ireland was a conquered country, and that therefore its inhabitants had neither rights nor property except by express grant from the crown. Acting on this, he claimed the whole province of Connaught, as given by Henry III. to Richard de Burgh, and reannexed to the crown by De Burgh's descendant, Edward IV. A jury at Galway, having returned a verdict that the grant in question was only of certain royalties, not of the fee-simple of the land, were heavily fined and imprisoned; and the freeholders were thus intimidated into the surrender of from one-third to one-half of their lands, upon which it was proposed to found new English plantations. These grievances fell heavily upon the whole body of Romanists, while at the same time the Protestant settlers were harassed by inquiries into the mode in which they had fulfilled the conditions of their grants, and rendered almost as discontented as the native Irish.

ment, or acting as magistrates. The iron rule of Wentworth prevented more than murmurs and secret confederacies, but now that he was no more, and the king's authority was in reality extinct, the energy and eloquence of one man sufficed to determine them on an appeal to arms.

This was Roger More, a gentleman of Kildare, whose family estate had been reduced to one-tenth of its original size by the aggressions of the English planters. He procured the co-operation of Sir Phelim O'Neal\* (a kinsman of the attainted earl of Tyrone), of Lord Inniskillen (Cornelius McGuire), and many other native Irish chieftains, and expecting at least the neutrality of the Anglo-Irish lords of the Pale, he planned a surprise of Dublin Castle and a general rising in Ulster, both to be attempted the same day, October 23, 1641.

The attempt on Dublin miscarried, owing to a premature disclosure of the plot to one Owen Conolly, who carried the news to the lords justices, but the rising in Ulster was at first successful. The open country was ravaged, most of the newly-founded towns captured, and the unhappy settlers either killed on the spot, or driven to take refuge in Dublin, where famine and sickness made awful ravages among them.

The lords justices sent urgent messages for succour, both to the king in Scotland and to the English parliament; fortified Dublin, and endeavoured to induce the Anglo-Irish to take the field against the insurgents; but this few of them would do; though opposed in other matters, they were united to O'Neal by community of faith, and the threats of the Puritans. Some troops, however, arrived from England, the natives were worsted in many encounters, and horrible cruelties were

\* He had studied the law in Lincoln's Inn, and professed Protestantism; but he now avowed himself a Romanist. After a variety of fortune he was captured by the republicans and executed, in 1652.

committed on both sides\*. The marquis of Ormond†, lord-lieutenant, laboured zealously to preserve the semblance of the royal authority, but in this he was opposed as much by the troops of the parliament as by those of the confederate Catholics‡. With the latter he at length concluded an armistice, (Sept. 15, 1643), the king, though doubtless in no way connected with the original rising, as his enemies asserted, having before this negotiated with the Irish for their help against his parliament‡. On the ruin of the royal cause in England, Ormond was obliged to make a treaty with the parliament (June 19, 1647) and withdraw to the continent. The Assembly of Kilkenny, however, refused to be bound by the stipulations that he had made, and though he returned to his post in 1648, the triumphant Parliamentarians carried on the war until they had effected more than any of the English kings had ever done, and by the com-

\* In Rushworth (vol. iii.) may be seen a long list of butcheries said to have been committed by the Romanists on the Protestants, grounded on inquiries taken some years after; but it is remarkable that the lords justices, writing at the very time, make no mention of any such general massacre of the Protestants (amounting to 200,000 according to some writers, to 40,000 or 50,000 according to others,) as is usually said to have occurred. The contest was doubtless embittered by the difference of creeds, but it unquestionably arose rather from political than purely religious causes: the Romanists armed to preserve their estates.

† James Butler, successively earl, marquis, and duke of Ormond, was born in London in 1610, and was educated by Archbishop Abbot. He is favourably known for his honest and able government of Ireland, of which country he was four times lord-lieutenant; namely, from 1642 to 1647; 1648 to 1650; 1662 to 1669; and 1677 to 1685. He passed several years in poverty with the exiled king, and on the Restoration experienced little gratitude from him for all his sufferings and losses, though these were considered by the Irish parliament in a far more liberal manner than those of meaner men. Ormond did not long survive his last recall from his post, dying July 21, 1688.

‡ This was the name assumed by a body that first met at Kells in May, 1642. On October 24 of the same year an Assembly was regularly constituted at Kilkenny. It consisted of 11 prelates, 14 peers, and 226 commoners, of Irish or Anglo-Irish race, raised an army, sent and received envoys, offered the sovereignty of Ireland to various foreign princes, and carried on an orderly government for some years; but being opposed by both Ormond and the Parliament, it ceased to meet in 1648.

§ His agent was Lord Glamorgan (Edward Somerset, afterwards marquis of Worcester), who was empowered to treat with them without the knowledge of Ormond, the lord-lieutenant. Charles was so disingenuous as to disavow him, and declare that he had exceeded his instructions; but the original documents remain, and they prove that such was not the case.

plete conquest of the island were enabled to portion it out by the sword among their adherents.

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**A.D. 1641.** The parliament reassembles, Oct. 20. They receive information of the events in Ireland, Oct. 25; and the king commits the conduct of the war to them.

The king fills up several vacant bishoprics\*, on which the Commons remonstrate, but fail to procure the concurrence of the Peers.

The king returns to England. He is entertained by the citizens of London, with great apparent cordiality, Nov. 25. He removes the next day to Hampton Court, and shortly after revokes the commission of the earl of Essex as general south of Trent.

The Commons draw up a vehement Remonstrance, which they present to the King†, Dec. 1.

The king returns to Whitehall, early in December. Many gentlemen offer their services as a body guard‡, between whom and the populace skirmishes frequently occur.

The bishops, being daily assaulted on their way to the parliament at length draw up, at the recommendation of Williams, archbishop of York, a protest against "all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations" passed during their "enforced absence," Dec. 28.

The protest is communicated to the parliament, Dec. 29. On the complaint of the Commons, the sign-

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\* Bristol, Carlisle, Chichester, Exeter, Norwich, Salisbury, Worcester, and York.

† It consisted of no less than 206 articles, and dwelt with bitterness on every harsh or illegal act that had been committed by the government from the period of the king's accession. It was printed, and widely distributed, and had a most baneful effect on the people, who crowded daily to the parliament-house, attacked the bishops, and menaced the court.

‡ They were commanded by Colonel Lunsford, a man of bad character, and a Romanist: the appellations Cavaliers and Roundheads arose from these conflicts. The king named Lunsford governor of the Tower, Dec. 23, but revoked the appointment three days after.

ers, twelve in number, are committed to the Tower<sup>a</sup>, Dec. 30.

The Commons apply to the king for a guard, under the command of the earl of Essex, Dec. 31; the king refuses.

**A.D. 1642.** The attorney-general (Sir Edward Herbert), by order of the king, exhibits articles of treason in the House of Lords against Lord Kimbolton and five members of the Commons<sup>b</sup>, Jan. 3, and demands that they be delivered up. Meanwhile the Commons pass a vote empowering their members to stand on their defence against any arrest; the parties retire into the city, under the protection of the trained bands, but their lodgings are searched, and their papers seized.

The king comes to the House, attended by a guard, and demands the delivery of the five members, Jan. 4. "At his unexpected coming into the House," says White-lock, "they were in a very great amazement, but upon

<sup>a</sup> They were, John Williams, archbishop of York; Thomas Morton, George Coke, and Godfrey Goodman, bishops of Durham, Hereford, and Gloucester; Joseph Hall, John and Morgan Owen, of Norwich, St. Asaph, and Llandaff; William Pierce, Robert Skinner, and John Towers, of Bath and Wells, Oxford, and Peterborough; Matthew Wren and Robert Wright, of Ely, and Coventry and Lichfield. "We poor souls," says one of their number, Bishop Hall, in his "Hard Measure," "who little thought that we had done anything that might deserve a chiding, are now called to our knees at the bar, and charged severally with high treason, being not a little astonished at the suddenness of this crimination, compared with the perfect innocency of our own intentions, which were only to bring us to our due places in parliament with safety and speed, without the least purpose of any man's offence; but now traitors we are in all the haste, and must be dealt with accordingly. For on December 30, in all the extremity of frost, at eight o'clock in the dark evening, are we voted to the Tower; only two of our number had the favour of the black rod by reason of their age, which though desired by a noble lord on my behalf, would not be granted; wherein I acknowledge and bless the gracious providence of my God, for had I been gratified I had been undone both in body and purse; the rooms being strait, and the expense beyond the reach of my estate."

<sup>b</sup> Lord Kimbolton (Edward Montagu) became earl of Manchester, and a general in the parliamentary army, but was displaced by the Self-denying Ordinance. The commoners were, John Hampden, the opponent of ship-money; Pym, the leader of the proceedings against Strafford; Sir Arthur Haselrigge, afterwards a regicide, and who died in the Tower in 1661; Denzil Holles, afterwards earl of Clare; and William Strode, a Spanish merchant, and son of one of the members imprisoned in 1629.

his going away, and so as he might hear them, the House was in a great disorder, crying aloud, many of them together, 'Privilege! privilege!'

The Commons vote the king's coming "in a warlike manner" a high breach of privilege, declare the order for the apprehension of the five members "false, scandalous, and illegal," assert that they cannot safely sit without a guard, which the king has refused them, and adjourn the House, Jan. 5, after appointing committees<sup>c</sup> to sit in the city.

The king goes into the city, Jan. 5, and explains his proceedings and intentions regarding the five members<sup>d</sup>.

The parliamentary committee collects evidence as to the king's coming to the House, Jan. 6, 7. The citizens petition the king, complaining of neglect of the affairs of Ireland, and also of his attempt to seize the members, Jan. 7.

The king issues a fresh proclamation to arrest the members, Jan. 8. The parliamentary committee arranges for protecting them in their return to the House.

The king, alarmed at the preparations in the city, retires to Hampton Court, Jan. 10, and removes on Jan. 12 to Windsor.

The parliament reassembles, Jan. 11. The five members are brought back in triumph, attended by an armed force both by land and water<sup>e</sup>.

Lord Digby, Colonel Lunsford, and others, appear in arms for the king at Kingston, Jan. 12; the parliament votes them traitors. Lunsford is captured and

<sup>c</sup> One was charged with the affairs of Ireland; the other was to concert measures for the safety of the accused members. The first sat in the Guild-hall, the other occupied sometimes Grocers'-hall, sometimes Merchant Taylors'-hall.

<sup>d</sup> He was received with sullen silence, the only exception being that one man (Henry Walker, an ironmonger) raised the ominous cry, "To your tents, O Israel!"

<sup>e</sup> Skippon, the sergeant-major-general of the London trained bands, was the commander.

committed to the Tower, but Digby escapes to the continent.

A large body of Buckinghamshire freeholders<sup>f</sup> repair to the king at Hampton Court, and complain of the accusation against their member (John Hampden), Jan. 12. The king informs them that he has abandoned the charges.

The Commons pass votes to secure possession of the Tower, Portsmouth, and Hull<sup>g</sup>, Jan. 12; impeach Herbert, the attorney-general<sup>h</sup>, Jan. 15; and draw up a declaration of their privileges, Jan. 17.

The king sends a message, Jan. 20, desiring the parliament to digest all their demands and grievances into one body, and promising his favourable consideration of whatever they may propose.

The Commons express their thanks (Jan. 26), but desire, "as a sure ground of safety and confidence," that the king will place the militia in the hands of such persons only as they shall recommend to him. The king declines to comply.

An act passed to disable persons in holy orders to exercise any temporal jurisdiction or authority, [16 Car. I. c. 27]. They were not to have place in parliament, or in the privy council, neither were they to act as justices of the peace, or to execute any commission under the crown; any acts as such done by them were to be void<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> They were not above 2,000 strong, according to Sir Edward Dering, then one of their party, though their number was given out as 4,000; but systematic exaggeration was a part of their terrorizing system.

<sup>g</sup> There was an idea that the king had received the promise of a force from France, which was to land at Portsmouth. Goring, the governor, held the town for a while, but was driven out by the earl of Essex. The Tower had a large quantity of stores, which the king had endeavoured to remove, but which was now prevented by a blockade, under Skippon; and in Hull was 16,000 stand of arms, placed there on the recent disbandment. Through the activity of Sir John Hotham, the king was prevented from entering Hull, and an attempt to besiege that town was the first operation of the unhappy civil war.

<sup>h</sup> He escaped to the king, went abroad on the ruin of the royal cause, and received the nominal office of lord-keeper from Charles II. in 1653. He was soon displaced by Hyde, and died in poverty at Paris in 1657.

<sup>i</sup> The king was with much difficulty induced to give his consent to this act,

Several statutes passed for "the speedy and effectual reducing of the rebels in His Majesty's kingdom of Ireland." A body of soldiers was ordered to be pressed [c. 28], and contributions were solicited [c. 30]; but these being uncertain, a levy of £400,000 was decreed, to be paid into the Chambers of London and York [c. 32]; beside which, as "divers worthy and well-affected persons had perceived that many millions of acres of the rebels' lands of that kingdom which go under the name of profitable lands would be confiscate and to be disposed of," 2,500,000 acres were at once offered to persons who would adventure money<sup>k</sup>; the sums were to be paid into the Chamber of London, in four instalments, and corporations were allowed to subscribe, [cc. 33, 34, 35]. Very large sums were thus raised, but they were mainly applied by the parliament in England to carry on war with the king, and the settlers in Ireland were left almost entirely to their own resources.

The queen passes over to Holland<sup>l</sup>, where she sells or pawns the crown jewels, and buys arms and military stores for the king, February.

The king retires to Theobalds, Feb. 28. The parliament again desire the control of the militia<sup>m</sup>, and beg that he will not withdraw from London, March 1. He declines compliance<sup>n</sup>.

and its repeal was one of the earliest measures at the Restoration, [13 Car. II. c. 2].

<sup>k</sup> They were divided into lots of 1,000 acres each, "all according to the English measure, and consisting of meadow, arable, and profitable pasture: the bogs, woods, and barren mountains being cast in over and above." The sum paid was different for each province. In Ulster the price was £200; in Connaught £300; in Munster £450; in Leinster £600.

<sup>l</sup> The pretext for this journey was the marriage of her daughter Mary to William, prince of Orange, son of the Stadtholder.

<sup>m</sup> Though styled a petition, their communication was more like a threat, as they told the king that if he should not be pleased to follow their humble advice, they should be constrained, to prevent future fears and jealousies, to settle that necessary business of the militia without him. They acted up to this by ordinances, Feb. 26, and March 5, 1642, which appointed fifty-five persons commissioners of array, with power to suppress "all insurrections, rebellions, and invasions."

<sup>n</sup> The king journeyed on, by easy stages, to York; he reached Royston,



The parliament direct the earl of Northumberland, lord high admiral, to take the command of the fleet<sup>a</sup>, in order to prevent the landing of supplies from the queen<sup>b</sup>.

The earls of Pembroke and Holland, and some members of the Commons, are sent to the king at Newmarket, March 9, to remonstrate with him on his proceedings; an angry conference ensues<sup>c</sup>. On their return the Houses vote that the king's absence is fatal to the affairs of Ireland, and that those who have advised it are justly to be suspected as favourers of the rebellion there.

The king sends a message to the parliament from Huntingdon, offering to proceed to Ireland, and informing them that he has prepared a bill concerning the militia; they return no answer.

The parliament vote that their ordinance for the defence of the kingdom is to be obeyed, and that the king's commissions of lieutenancy are illegal and void, April 15.

The king is refused entrance into Hull, by Sir John Hotham<sup>d</sup>, April 23. He complains to the parliament, but they justify Hotham, and remove the arms and stores to London.

The king and the parliament exchange their bills about the militia, but no agreement can be effected.

The parliament direct their ordinance for the militia

March 3; Newmarket, 7; Huntingdon, 14; Stamford, 15; Newark, 17; Doncaster, 18; York, 19.

<sup>a</sup> The earl of Warwick was his lieutenant. The king sent Sir John Pennington to obtain possession of the fleet, but he failed.

<sup>b</sup> A ship-load of stores sent by her was captured, but several vessels arrived safely, and an ordinance was passed, Dec. 10, 1642, for fitting out a fleet of cruisers.

<sup>c</sup> The king's character suffers from his conduct on this occasion. To the well-founded charge of consenting to Jermyn's design of bringing in the army to coerce the parliament (see p. 87), he answered, "It is false;" and when taxed with the treason of Captain Legg, "That's a lie."

<sup>d</sup> Hotham had only of late joined the parliamentary party. A few years before he had been strenuous in urging the payment of ship-money.

to be carried out\*, May 5. The king denounces it as illegal, and summons the gentry of York to form a guard for the protection of his person, May 12.

The parliament vote this treason, and order all sheriffs and others to oppose it, May 28.

The king in return declares the ordinance for the militia treasonable, and summons the people of Yorkshire to repair to him; the parliament forbid them to do so.

Lord Falkland, (Lucius Cary,) Mr. Hyde†, and several other moderate members of the parliament, withdraw, and repair to the king. In consequence, all the members are ordered to attend the Houses, on pain of forfeiting £100 towards the expenses of the Irish war‡.

The parliament send propositions of peace§ to the king, June 2. He rejects them.

\* In pursuance of this, the parliament mustered six regiments of the London trained bands, under Skippon, in Finsbury-fields, May 10. On hearing of it, the king assembled a troop of 200 horse, and one regiment of 700 foot; the horsemen were gentry who served at their own charge, but the foot were paid weekly by the king.

† They had before held correspondence clandestinely with him. Lord Falkland became secretary of state, and was killed at Newbury; Mr. Hyde was made chancellor of the exchequer.

‡ Edward Hyde was born in Wiltshire in 1608, and was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford. On the decline of the royal cause he found shelter in Jersey for awhile, and was a valued adherent of Charles II. in exile. At the Restoration he was made lord chancellor, and earl of Clarendon, but soon became unpopular, being accused of corruption; a charge to which the sale of Dunkirk and his own magnificent style of living, gave an appearance of probability. He was in 1667 deprived of office, and banished by act of parliament, [19 & 20 Car. II. c. 2]; he passed through France to Montpellier, and then back to Rouen, where he died, Dec. 9, 1674. His daughter Anne became the wife of the duke of York, and the mother of two queens. Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, and his Life, though in some places partial and in others inaccurate, are indispensable to the historical student.

§ Many of the absentees were by another vote deprived of their seats.

¶ They were nineteen in number, and of such a nature as they could not expect him to accept. They desired that the king's council should not consist of less than fifteen, or more than twenty-four members; that these and the great officers of state should be subject to the approval of parliament; that an oath should be taken by them for the maintenance of the Petition of Right; that the education and marriages of the royal family should be subject to the consent of parliament; the militia and the castles of the kingdom placed in their hands; delinquents left to justice; the laws against Romanists executed, and Romish Peers excluded from parliament, firm

The lord-keeper, Lyttelton, sends the great seal to the king, and shortly after leaves the parliament and joins him, early in June.

The king makes a solemn declaration before his peers and councillors at York of his intention to exercise a legal government, June 13. The assembly in general signify their adhesion to him.

The king invites his people to supply him with money, horses, and arms, pledging his parks and forests for their repayment.

The king visits Lincoln and Nottingham, in July, and makes a similar declaration to that at York.

The earl of Leicester (Robert Sydney) is appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, June 14. He does not go there, and the office is bestowed (Nov. 13) on the marquis of Ormond.

The Houses vote that an army shall be raised "for the defence of the king and parliament," appointing the earl of Essex captain-general<sup>2</sup>, and the earl of Bedford (William Russell) general of the horse, July 12.

The king proclaims Essex and his officers guilty of treason, (Aug. 2,) and orders the marquis of Hertford, (William Seymour,) his lieutenant-general, to march against them.

The parliament vote the king's commissioners of array to be traitors, Aug. 9.

The king sets up his standard at Nottingham, Monday, August 22.

The king sends propositions of accommodation to the parliament, Aug. 25. They decline to entertain them,

alliance made only with Protestant states; reparation made to any who had been deprived of office, or prosecuted (as the earl of Essex, Lord Kimbolton, the five members, &c.), and a general pardon granted, with such exceptions as the Houses might require; which was only another version of their constant demand, that all "delinquents" should lie at their mercy.

<sup>2</sup> A committee was associated with him, "to take subscriptions of loans, and order matters concerning malignants, and consider of the good of the army." His pay of £10,000 a-year was to be raised from "delinquents' estates."

while his standard continues spread, and they are denounced as traitors. He sends a fresh message (Sept. 3), offering to recal his proclamation against Essex and others, if they will do the same. They vote a reply, "that the arms of the parliament for religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, shall not be laid down till delinquents be left to justice, that their estates may discharge the debts of the commonwealth."

Portsmouth surrendered to the parliament by Colonel Goring, Sept. 9.

Sir John Hotham sallies from Hull, and obliges the king's forces under the earl of Lindsey (Robert Bertie) to withdraw.

The king collects a considerable force, and makes his head-quarters at Shrewsbury<sup>7</sup>, Sept. 20. The parliamentary forces march towards him, under the command of the earl of Essex.

The parliament send Walter Strickland as their resident to Holland, to induce the States to prohibit assistance being given to the king.

The king marches from Shrewsbury towards London, when the parliament order the city to be fortified<sup>8</sup>.

Essex garrisons Northampton and other towns, and recovers Worcester from Prince Rupert<sup>9</sup>. He then fol-

<sup>7</sup> The day before he mustered his forces at Wellington, and made a solemn protestation of his intention to respect the rights and liberties of his people, and to abide by the various laws to which he had recently consented.

<sup>8</sup> "It was wonderful," says Whitelock, "to see how the women and children and vast numbers of people would come to work, about digging and carrying of earth, to make their new fortifications."

<sup>9</sup> The prince had seized the city shortly before, and on Sept. 25 defeated a strong party of the parliamentary horse, under Colonel Sandys, who was mortally wounded.

Prince Rupert, born in 1619, was nephew of the king, and a man of distinguished talent and bravery. His conduct, however, was rash and overbearing, and having surrendered Bristol too readily, he was desired to leave the kingdom. In 1648 he commanded a part of the fleet that had abandoned the parliament; he was chased from sea to sea by Blake, but escaped his pursuit, and lived in retirement until the Restoration. He returned with Charles II., again served at sea, and died Nov. 29, 1682. His elder brother Charles Louis associated himself with the parliamentarians, but his younger brother Maurice served the king, and accompanying Rupert in his cruises, perished at sea in 1650.

lows the king's army, and overtaking it at Edgehill, (near Kineton, in Warwickshire,) a bloody, but indecisive, battle, is fought there, Sunday, Oct. 23<sup>b</sup>. The king moves to Oxford, of which he takes possession, Oct. 26; Essex returns to London with his forces, Nov. 7, and receives a gratuity of £5,000 from the parliament<sup>c</sup>.

The parliament invite the assistance of the Scots; their application is favourably received.

A General Assembly of Irish Catholics meets at Kilkenny, Oct. 24. It invites partisans, makes a seal, levies money for the support of an army, orders an oath of association to be taken, and commits the government to a Supreme Council of 24, of which Viscount Mountgarret is the president<sup>d</sup>.

The civil war had now commenced in earnest. In Wales, Cornwall, and Yorkshire, the king had strong bodies of troops; he himself possessed Oxford, and Prince Rupert kept the whole country between that city and London in constant alarm<sup>e</sup>. The king resolved to

<sup>b</sup> Sir Edmund Verney, the king's standard bearer, was killed, and the standard taken, but it was recovered by Robert Welch, an Irish gentleman, who was in consequence knighted, and afterwards received a gold medal, struck in his honour.

<sup>c</sup> The widows, orphans, and wounded of their party received a solemn promise of relief, Oct. 25; and on March 6, 1643, an ordinance was made for an assessment on each parish for their support.

<sup>d</sup> On Nov. 15 it was determined to appoint agents "to be employed to his majesty, hereby to inform his majesty's highness of the motives and causes of raising this holy war, and other the grievances of this kingdom at this present."

<sup>e</sup> A regiment of his horse was quartered at Fawley Court, the property of Whitelock, whose description of their proceedings may give some idea of the miserable state of the land, when such or worse outrages were perpetrated by both parties in every quarter:—

"Sir John Biron and his brother," he says, "commanded those horse, and gave order that they should commit no insolence at my house, nor plunder my goods; but soldiers are not easily governed against their plunder, or persuaded to restrain it; for there being about 1,000 of the king's horse quartered in and about the house, and none but servants there, there was no insolence or outrage usually committed by common soldiers on a reputed enemy which was omitted by these brutish fellows at my house. . . . They spent and consumed 100 load of corn and hay, littered their horses with sheaves of good wheat, and gave them all sorts of corn in the straw; divers writings of consequence, and books which were left in my study, some of them they tore in pieces, others they burnt to light their tobacco, and some

march on London, when proposals of peace were sent to him, and conferences appointed to be held at Windsor (Nov. 11), but he still advanced, possessed himself, after a sharp fight, of Brentford<sup>4</sup>, Nov. 12, and on the following day came to Turnham-green. He was there faced by Essex<sup>5</sup>, and, without fighting, retired to Colnbrook, whence he retreated through Reading to Oxford, arriving there Nov. 29.

A tax of one-twentieth of every one's estate ordained by the parliament for the support of the war, Dec. 13.

The eastern counties<sup>6</sup> associate against the king, under the command of Lord Grey of Warke.

they carried away with them, to my extreme great loss and prejudice in wanting the writings of my estate, and losing very many excellent manuscripts of my father's and others, and some of my own labours.

"They broke down my park pales, killed most of my deer, though rascal and carrion, and let out all the rest, only a tame young stag they carried away and presented to Prince Rupert, and my hounds, which were extraordinary good. They ate and drank up all that the house could afford; broke up all my trunks, chests, and places; and where they found linen, or any household stuff, they took it away with them, and cutting the beds, let out the feathers, and took away the ticks. They likewise carried away my coach, and four good horses, and all my saddle horses, and did all the mischief and spoil that malice and enmity could provoke barbarous mercenaries to commit, and so they parted.

"This," he concludes, "is remembered only to raise a constant hatred of anything that may in the least tend to the fomenting of such unhappiness and misery."

<sup>4</sup> Among other prisoners taken there was John Lilburne (see A.D. 1637), who conducted himself so violently to Prince Rupert and others, that the prince threatened to put him to death, but was deterred by an intimation of reprisal from the earl of Essex. He was afterwards ordered for trial at Oxford, along with two others, named Catesby and Vivers, but was again saved by a threat of retaliation from the Parliament.

<sup>5</sup> "The city bands marched forth very cheerfully under the command of Major-general Skippon, who made short and encouraging speeches to his soldiers, which were to this purpose: 'Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily; I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bless us.'" Whitelock, who was present, further says, "The city good wives, and others, mindful of their husbands and friends, sent many cart-loads of provisions, and wines, and good things to Turnham-green, with which the soldiers were refreshed, and made merry; and the more, when they understood that the king and all his army were retreated."

<sup>6</sup> The associated counties, as they were called, were, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Hertford. The earl of

Goring lands in Yorkshire with supplies from Holland, and the war is carried on fiercely between the earl of Newcastle<sup>1</sup> and Lord Fairfax<sup>2</sup>.

**A.D. 1643.** A negotiation for peace is carried on at Oxford<sup>1</sup>, at intervals, from Jan. 30 to April 15, but without any result.

The king establishes a mint in New Inn Hall, Oxford, where the plate of the colleges is coined for his use<sup>m</sup>. The exchequer is also settled at Oxford, Feb. 13<sup>n</sup>.

The queen lands at Burlington with supplies<sup>o</sup>, Feb. 22, but is unable to join the king until July 13.

The earl of Northampton (James Compton) defeats the Parliamentarians at Hopton heath, near Stafford, March 19.

The parliament, by ordinance, declare the estates of all persons in arms against them under sequestration, March 30.

Manchester (formerly Lord Kimbolton) afterwards commanded their levies, having under him Oliver Cromwell. Their proceedings were regulated by an ordinance, Jan. 16, 1643.

<sup>1</sup> William Cavendish, so created March 7, 1628, and raised to the rank of marquis Oct. 27, 1643. At length, disgusted by the rashness of Prince Rupert, he suddenly abandoned the contest after the battle of Marston-moor, and withdrew to the continent. He returned with Charles II., was made duke of Newcastle, and died Dec. 25, 1676.

<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax (born 1590, died March 13, 1648), was assisted by his son Thomas, who became the chief commander of the parliamentary army when new modelled. Thomas was born in 1612, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and had served in the Netherlands under Lord Vere. Being a rigid Presbyterian, he resigned his command in preference to leading the army against the Scots, and lived in retirement until 1660, when he actively exerted himself to forward the restoration of Charles II. He died Nov. 12, 1671.

<sup>m</sup> Whitelock was one of the commissioners, and he gives this testimony as to the king's abilities: "In this treaty the king manifested his great parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him; wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the arguments, and gave a most clear judgment upon them. His unhappiness was, that he had a better opinion of others' judgments than of his own, though they were weaker than his own; and of this we had experience, to our great trouble."

<sup>n</sup> Exeter College hesitated to surrender its plate, but gave way, Jan. 28, and parted with 2461*lb*. The mint continued in operation until 1646.

<sup>o</sup> The proclamation ordering this bears date February 8.

<sup>p</sup> The Commons in consequence proposed an impeachment against her (May 22), but the Peers declined to entertain it.

The earl of Essex takes Reading, April 27, and Sir William Waller<sup>p</sup> is successful in the west.

The Cornish men take arms for the king. They defeat the earl of Stamford (Henry Grey) at Stratton, May 16, and advance into Somersetshire.

A plan to disarm the militia of London, and let in the king's forces, is detected and punished<sup>q</sup>, June, July.

John Hampden is mortally wounded in a skirmish at Chalgrove, near Oxford, June 18; he dies, at Thame, June 24.

Sir William Waller is defeated at Lansdown (near Bath<sup>r</sup>), July 5, and at Devizes<sup>s</sup>, July 13. Bristol is surrendered to Prince Rupert, July 27.

London is fortified by order of the parliament.

Commissioners from the Scottish parliament arrive in London<sup>t</sup>.

The king forms the siege of Gloucester, Aug. 10. It is relieved by Essex, Sept. 6.

Essex retires towards London. He is followed by the king, and attacked at Newbury, Sept. 20, but beats off the assailants<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> He was born in 1597, of a good Kentish family, was educated at Oxford, and had served with great reputation in the German war. On his return to England he was, through family quarrels, fined in the Star Chamber, and became at once disaffected to the Government. Being chosen a member of the Long Parliament, he was one of the earliest to take up arms. Waller was considered the rival of Essex, but was, like him, removed from the army by the Self-denying Ordinance; as a leader among the Presbyterians, he opposed the designs of the Independents, was impeached by them and imprisoned, in 1648. He was again imprisoned as a royalist after the death of Cromwell, but was soon released, and sat in the parliament that recalled Charles II. He died Sept. 19. 1668.

<sup>q</sup> Edmund Waller, the poet, who had been one of the commissioners at Oxford, was the principal contriver, but he had the baseness to betray his confederates, and thus saved his own life, being allowed to go into exile. One of the parties, Nathaniel Tompkins, was executed in Cornhill, July 5.

<sup>r</sup> Sir Bevil Grenville, the commander of the Cornish troops, was killed here.

<sup>s</sup> The rout, which occurred on Roundway down, was so complete, that the royalists called it the battle of "Runaway" down. It caused a fierce quarrel between Waller and Essex, Waller asserting that Essex from jealousy had purposely neglected to support him.

<sup>t</sup> Lord Maitland, (afterwards earl of Lauderdale) was the principal.

<sup>u</sup> The earls of Carnarvon and Sunderland, (Robert Dormer and Henry Spenser,) and Lord Falkland, fell in this battle. Essex's horse was totally



The Scottish Covenant, with some modifications<sup>1</sup>, is solemnly received by the parliament at the assembly of divines<sup>2</sup>, Sept. 25.

The parliament make a new great seal, in lieu of the original, which is in the king's hands<sup>3</sup>, October.

The earl of Newcastle defeats Lord Fairfax at Adwalton-moor, near Bradford, June 30, and penetrates into Lincolnshire, when his troops refuse to march further south.

Sir John Hotham and his son are committed to the Tower, on a charge of deserting the cause of the parliament<sup>4</sup>.

Hull unsuccessfully besieged by the earl of Newcastle, from Sept. 2 to Oct. 11.

The merchant adventurers lend £60,000 to the parliament, when fresh privileges are granted to them by an ordinance.

The marquis of Ormond agrees to a cessation of arms with the Irish, Sept. 15. Many of them in con-

routed, but his foot, principally composed of the London trained bands, stood firm, and enabled him to retire without the loss of a single gun.

<sup>1</sup> This celebrated document, which now received the title of the Solemn League and Covenant, differs in many respects from that of 1638 (see p. 79). It consists of six articles, by which the subscribers bind themselves to endeavour the preservation of the reformed Church in Scotland, and the reformation of religion in England and Ireland, "in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches;" to extirpate "popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness;" to preserve the liberties of parliament and the king's person and authority; to discover and punish all "incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments;" to preserve "a blessed peace between these kingdoms;" and to assist and defend all who enter into the Covenant; "all which," say they, "we shall do as in the sight of God."

<sup>2</sup> This body, which consisted of 120 divines, with 30 lay assessors, was constituted by an ordinance, June 12, 1643, and it could only debate on matters submitted to it by the parliament. Milton and other contemporaries of various shades of opinion speak in very disparaging terms of both the learning and integrity of these divines, who were the paid servants of the Houses; (their allowance was 4s. a-day;) and who, though fierce declaimers against pluralities and non-residence, sought eagerly for every valuable preferment.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 102. They placed it in the keeping of two lords and four commoners.

<sup>4</sup> They were not tried till long after. When brought to trial they were found guilty, and were executed early in 1645.

sequence come into England to the assistance of the king, November.

Sir Henry Vane and four others appointed commissioners to the Scottish parliament.

The earl of Warwick is appointed governor and admiral of the American plantations, by ordinance, Nov. 2.

The duke of Hamilton<sup>a</sup> repairs to the king, at Oxford. He is considered a traitor, and is confined in Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall.

The isle of Jersey occupied by the king's forces.

**A.D. 1644.** The Scots enter England to assist the parliament, in January. They attempt to take Newcastle, but fail, Feb. 3; they then possess themselves of Sunderland, where the marquis of Newcastle blockades them<sup>b</sup>, March 4.

A parliament summoned by the king, meets at Oxford, Jan. 22, and sits till April. It consists of about forty peers and a hundred commoners<sup>c</sup>. They vote taxes, impose an excise, write to the earl of Essex to treat for peace with "those by whom he is employed," and at length declare the parliament sitting at Westminster traitors.

Sir Thomas Fairfax defeats the king's Irish troops at Nantwich<sup>d</sup>, Jan. 25, and then marches to relieve the Scots.

<sup>a</sup> He had but recently received this title, April 12, 1643.

<sup>b</sup> They were 21,500 strong, and were commanded by Alexander Lesley, earl of Leven; David Leslie (sometimes called Lord Newark) served under him; both were veteran soldiers from the German wars. The apparent inactivity of the Scots was displeasing to their allies, and, though various sums were at different times voted on their application, it was not till Feb. 28, 1645, that an ordinance was made, granting an assessment of £21,000 monthly for their support.

<sup>c</sup> Clarendon says, 45 peers and 118 commoners. There were besides, about 20 peers in military command, whilst the House at Westminster mustered but 22 altogether.

<sup>d</sup> Among the prisoners taken was George Monk, the future restorer of royalty. He was born of a good Devonshire family, in 1608, and in his 17th year sailed in Lord Wimbledon's expedition against Cadiz. He afterwards joined the English forces in the pay of Holland, but returned to England when the civil war broke out, and served in Ormond's army in Ireland. After an imprisonment of some length he was induced to join the Parliament.

The parliament issue a Declaration, Jan. 30, allowing persons who were or had been in arms against them to compound for their sequestered estates<sup>a</sup>.

Sir Edward Dering<sup>f</sup> quits the king at Oxford, and submits to the parliament, thus setting the example of compounding for "delinquency," February.

Archbishop Laud's trial commences, March 12. It is continued by adjournment until November.

Latham House is defended by the countess of Derby against the parliamentary forces from February to May, when it is relieved by Prince Rupert<sup>g</sup>.

The prince elector (Charles Louis, the king's nephew) joins the parliament, and takes the Covenant.

The earl of Essex and Waller advance against Oxford, in April. The king retires to Worcester, but

arians, and was sent again to Ireland (Nov. 1646), where he acted vigorously against the natives; and next, changing the scene of his employment, commanded the fleet against the Dutch, whom he twice defeated. Monk was entrusted by Cromwell with the government of Scotland, and the force at his disposal enabled him to secure the return of Charles II. to his kingdoms without any appearance of opposition. Monk was created duke of Albemarle, received vast grants of Irish forfeited lands, and a large pension; he, however, was not inclined to be idle, and when a new Dutch war broke out, distinguished himself as joint admiral of the fleet with Prince Rupert, and by his personal exertions prevented the landing of the Dutch at Chatham. He here exposed himself so much to danger that a friend advised him to be more cautious, but he only replied, "Sir, if I had feared bullets, I had quitted my trade of a soldier long ago." He died Jan. 3, 1670, and received a pompous funeral in Westminster Abbey.

<sup>a</sup> These compositions were to be accompanied by acceptance of the Covenant, but where the parties had friends among the ruling powers, this was often excused.

<sup>f</sup> He was the grand-nephew of Edward Dering, the Puritan, and was born in 1598. After holding for some time the post of lieutenant of Dover Castle, he became a member of the Long Parliament, where he was very conspicuous for his zeal in attacking the Church. At length becoming alarmed at the violent proceedings of his associates, he endeavoured to moderate their course, when he was expelled the House, Feb. 4, 1642. He soon after joined the king's forces, but had hardly done so, when he began attempting a reconciliation with the parliament. This did not take effect until the parliament issued their Declaration, when he petitioned to be allowed to compound, but ere the matter was settled he died, June 22, 1644, a subject of contemptuous pity with both parties. His estate was valued at £800 a-year, but as it had been greatly damaged by the sequestrators, and to induce others to follow his example, the composition was fixed at £1000, a rate much lower than afterwards prevailed; and by an extraordinary act of grace, this payment was remitted in favour of his heir.

<sup>g</sup> The countess retired with her children to the Isle of Man. Latham was again besieged, and was captured in December, 1645.

suddenly returning, defeats Waller at Cropredy-bridge (near Banbury), June 29.

Essex marches westward, and penetrates into Cornwall.

The Fairfaxes and the Scots besiege York, in June.

Taunton is taken for the parliament by Colonel Blake<sup>1</sup>, but is soon after again besieged by the royalists.

Prince Rupert relieves York, July 1. Following up the enemy he is totally defeated at Marston-moor<sup>1</sup>, July 2. York in consequence surrenders, July 15; and Newcastle is captured by the Scots, October 29.

The queen, who had taken refuge at Exeter, leaves England, July 14.

The earls of Antrim and Montrose (Randal McDonald and James Graham<sup>2</sup>), and the marquis of Huntley (George Gordon<sup>3</sup>), raise the royal standard in Scotland.

A body of 1,500 Irish land in the west, under Alistair McDonald, in July. Montrose joins them, takes the command, defeats Lord Elcho at Tippermuir (near Perth), Sept. 1; and sacks Aberdeen, Sept. 12. He is obliged

<sup>1</sup> Robert Blake, better known as a naval officer, was born in 1598, educated at Oxford, and sat in the Long Parliament for Bridgwater. After the death of the king, Blake was appointed one of the three commanders of the navy, when he chased Prince Rupert from the British seas; he afterwards repeatedly defeated the Dutch, chastised the Barbary pirates, and inflicted vast losses on the Spaniards. He died, on shipboard, near Plymouth, Aug. 17, 1657, and was honoured with a public funeral.

<sup>2</sup> The overthrow was generally attributed to the prince's misconduct; and the marquis of Newcastle and many other active partisans of the king in despair now abandoned the contest, and retired to the continent.

<sup>3</sup> He was born in 1612, travelled much abroad when very young, and returning to England, was through a treacherous manœuvre of the marquis of Hamilton, so coldly received at Court, that when the troubles in Scotland broke out he was one of the foremost of the Covenanters. He, however, soon penetrated their designs, and, leaving them, became one of the most devoted adherents of the king. In his cause he gained several victories in Scotland, in 1644 and 1645, but was defeated at Philiphaugh, Sept. 13, 1645, and in 1646 laid down his arms by the king's command. Montrose returned with a small force while negotiations were pending between Charles II. and the Scots, but they refused to recognise his commission, and having been defeated and captured, he was brought to Edinburgh, and there executed with every circumstance of barbarity and ignominy, May 21, 1650.

<sup>1</sup> He was brother-in-law of Argyle, by whom he was speedily defeated. He, however, still adhered to the king, and was at last executed, by order of the Scottish parliament, in 1649.

to flee by the approach of the marquis of Argyle (Archibald Campbell <sup>m</sup>), lieutenant of the kingdom.

The king marches into the west. Essex suffers himself to be surrounded in Cornwall. He and a few officers escape by sea to Plymouth, and his horse cut their way through, but his foot, under Skippon, are obliged to surrender, Sept. 2 ; they give up their arms, and are allowed to retire.

A fresh army is collected under Waller and the earl of Manchester <sup>n</sup>. They advance towards Oxford, fight an indecisive battle at Newbury, Oct. 27, and then retire into winter quarters. Great discontent is excited thereby, and a "new model" of the army is proposed <sup>o</sup>.

Commissioners are sent to Oxford, in November. They return with an answer from the king desiring to treat for a peace.

The Commons attaint Archbishop Laud, by ordinance, Nov. 13. The Peers, after some delay, consent, Dec. 17.

Sir John Hotham and his son are tried by a court-martial for corresponding with the king, December. They are both executed, Jan. 1, 2, 1645.

**A.D. 1645.** The Directory ordered to be used in all churches instead of the Prayer Book, Jan. 3.

Archbishop Laud is beheaded, Jan. 10.

<sup>m</sup> He was born in 1598, and became earl of Argyle in 1638, and marquis, Nov. 15, 1641. He was of a most treacherous, intriguing character, who in turn betrayed and was hated by all parties. Argyle leagued himself with Cromwell, and, coming to London on the Restoration, was at once sent to the Tower. He was soon after remitted to Scotland, where he was condemned and executed as a traitor. He suffered at Edinburgh, May 25, 1661.

<sup>n</sup> Formerly Lord Kimbolton. He was soon after displaced, lived unnoticed under the Commonwealth, and at the Restoration sat in judgment on some of his former associates. He received the post of lord chamberlain, and died May 5, 1671.

<sup>o</sup> It was alleged that the earl of Essex, Sir William Waller, and other soldiers by profession, wished to protract the war for the sake of their own emoluments, which certainly were very large, and therefore declined to push matters vigorously. Cromwell was known to be the real mover in the affair, and Essex and the Scottish commissioners consulted with Whitelock and others about impeaching him ; they, however, abandoned their intention, being doubtful of their power to carry it.

Commissioners meet at Uxbridge, Jan. 30, to discuss terms of peace. The parliamentary party insist on the abolition of episcopacy and the Liturgy, and the absolute control of the army and navy, and the negotiations are broken off, Feb. 22, without any result.

Montrose suddenly re-appears in the field, in January. He ravages the lands of Argyle; defeats him at Inverlochy, Feb. 2; and marches to the east coast, plundering Elgin, Aberdeen, and Dundee, but is forced to retire to the Highlands in April.

Armed associations of Clubmen formed, particularly in the southern and western counties, to restrain the plundering and violence of the armies<sup>†</sup>.

The Self-denying Ordinance passed, April 3<sup>d</sup>, which ordains that no member of parliament shall in future hold any office or command, civil or military, granted or conferred by either or both of the Houses, or by any authority derived from them.

The parliamentary army on the new model<sup>\*</sup> takes the field. It is composed almost exclusively of Independents, animated by the sternest fanaticism, under the nominal command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, but the actual leader is Cromwell<sup>\*</sup>.

<sup>†</sup> They professed strict neutrality as to politics, but in reality inclined to the king's party; hence the parliamentary troops treated them as armed enemies.

<sup>\*</sup> The earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, laid down their commissions the day before.

<sup>\*</sup> The king's party undervalued the new army, calling it in scorn, the "new noddle," but they very soon found it a much more formidable opponent than its predecessor had been. Its strength was 14,000 foot and 7,000 horse and dragoons; the charge was to be £44,955 per month. Fairfax was the general, with Skippon second in command, but he was superseded by Cromwell, and returned to the charge of the London militia.

<sup>\*</sup> He was disqualified by the Self-denying Ordinance, but Fairfax obtained its suspension in his favour for a short time, before the expiration of which the battle of Naseby had been fought, and all idea of then removing Cromwell was abandoned. "This was much spoken against by Essex's party," says Whitelock, "as a breach of that ordinance, and a discovery of the intention to continue who they pleased, and to remove the others from commands, notwithstanding their former self-denying pretences; but the House judged this fit to be now done." Sir William Brereton, Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir John Price, also members of the Commons, were likewise continued in their commands.

The king marches from Oxford early in May. He relieves Chester, May 15, and captures Leicester, May 31.

Fairfax endeavours to surprise Oxford in the absence of the king, but fails. He then follows the royal army, and totally defeats it at Naseby<sup>1</sup>, (near Market Harborough), June 14. The king flees into Wales.

Carlisle surrenders to the parliament, July 2<sup>2</sup>.

Fairfax marches into the west, and by the relief of Taunton (July 3), the defeat of Goring<sup>3</sup> at Langport (July 10), the capture of Bridgewater (July 23), and Bath (July 30), prevents the Cornish men assisting the royalists.

Montrose re-appears in force in May. He defeats the Covenanters at Auldearn (May 9), Alford (July 2), and Kilsyth (Aug. 15), and threatens Glasgow. The Scottish forces in consequence commence their return to Scotland.

Hereford unsuccessfully besieged by the Scots, August and September.

The king quits Wales on the approach of the Scots. He crosses the midland counties as far as Huntingdon, but retires to Oxford, Aug. 28.

Prince Rupert surrenders Bristol after a feeble defence, Sept. 10. The king revokes his commission, and orders him to quit the country<sup>4</sup>.

Montrose, who had advanced to the English border, is totally defeated at Philiphaugh (near Selkirk) by David Leslie, Sept. 13. Montrose and a few others escape, but

<sup>1</sup> The king's private cabinet was taken, and a number of letters found therein being thought to afford proof of his insincerity in the recent negotiations, were accordingly published by the parliament. Others, of a different character, were kept back, and were only brought to light in 1869 by the then recently appointed Historical Manuscripts Commission.

<sup>2</sup> It had been besieged for 11 months by the Scots under David Leslie, and only surrendered when the garrison had eaten all their horses.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Goring, formerly the governor of Portsmouth (see A.D. 1642), a man whose riotous excesses brought much discredit on the royal cause. In 1662 he succeeded his father as earl of Norwich, and he died in 1671, when the title became extinct.

<sup>4</sup> He, however, remained, and assisted in the defence of Oxford.

the prisoners are butchered in cold blood, without any form of trial<sup>7</sup>.

The king attempts in vain to relieve Chester (Sept. 23); passes through Shropshire to Newark, but after a brief stay there, shuts himself up in Oxford, Nov. 5.

A body of the royal cavalry penetrate as far as Dumfries, in order to join Montrose, but, on the news of his flight, return to Carlisle, and disband themselves.

Rinuccini, the papal nuncio, arrives in Ireland<sup>8</sup>, Oct. 23.

The king opens secret negotiations with the Scots and the Independents, and also seeks terms of peace from the parliament<sup>9</sup>.

Fairfax and Cromwell continue to capture the royal castles and posts in the south and west.

Persons coming from the king's quarters ordered to declare themselves, or to be treated as spies, Nov. 13.

<sup>7</sup> They were held to be Irish rebels, quarter to whom was expressly forbidden by an ordinance of the English parliament (Oct. 24, 1644). Some women, even, who were taken several days after the battle, were drowned by direction of the preachers. Sir Robert Spottiswoode, Col. Nathaniel Gordon, and some others, who had escaped from the field, being afterwards captured, were beheaded on Jan. 20, 1646, in accordance with the express desire of the commission of the General Assembly, the synod of Galloway, and other ecclesiastical bodies. The Galloway Synod craved most earnestly of the Estates of Parliament "that which your late oath of Covenant and Parliament, your place and the bleeding condition of your native country do require, that the sword of justice may be impartially drawn against those persons now in bonds who have lifted up their hands against the Lord, the sworn Covenant, and this afflicted Kirk." The Parliament replied to the Commission of the General Assembly, certifying them of the Estates' faithful and best endeavours for executing justice upon delinquents impartially and speedily.

<sup>8</sup> John Baptist Rinuccini, bishop of Fermo. The Kilkenny Assembly applied to the pope (Innocent X.) for assistance in money, arms, and men, which was granted. Rinuccini was sent in the same vessel with them, and narrowly escaped capture by a parliamentary cruiser. On his arrival he at once assumed the sole direction of affairs, but this was displeasing to many of the Assembly, and factions were formed against him. He, however, held his position for awhile, but on the return of Ormond to Ireland in 1648, he peremptorily ordered the nuncio to withdraw, and Rinuccini returned to Italy.

<sup>9</sup> The intercourse with the Scots was managed by Montreuil, the French ambassador; Major Huntingdon was the agent with Cromwell. The parliament insisted on harder terms than those demanded at Uxbridge (see p. 113), with which the Scots declared themselves contented; Cromwell and his friends professed an intention of restoring the king to his authority, but probably they already meditated his destruction, which they afterwards accomplished.



**A.D. 1646.** The king renews his applications to the parliament for an accommodation, but they decline to entertain them. The Scots and the Independents, however, carry on negotiations with him, though with evident insincerity.

Chester surrenders to the parliament, Feb. 3, after a long siege.

Prince Charles retires to Scilly, and in April removes to Jersey.

Fairfax, having entirely subdued the west<sup>b</sup>, approaches Oxford. The king, after applying, without success, to Iretton, leaves the city in disguise, in the night of April 26.

The king approaches London, then travels to the coast of Norfolk, but being unable to procure a ship, at length repairs to Southwell, where he puts himself into the hands of commissioners sent from Kelham, (near Newark,) the head-quarters of the Scottish army, May 5. He is received with outward respect, but is at once required to give orders for the surrender of Newark, with which he complies.

The parliament consider themselves deceived by the Scots, and threaten hostilities. The Scots vindicate themselves, but retire to Newcastle, taking the king with them. He here consents to order Montrose to lay down his arms<sup>c</sup>, and is himself urged to take the Covenant<sup>d</sup>.

The royal garrisons yield in quick succession<sup>e</sup>, and the war is for the present ended.

<sup>b</sup> Lord Hopton, the royal general, agreed (March 14, at Truro) to disband his forces, delivering up his arms and ammunition.

<sup>c</sup> He eventually did so, and Montrose in consequence embarked for Norway, with a few friends, Sept. 3.

<sup>d</sup> He, while in their hands, maintained a controversy on Church matters with Alexander Henderson, the chief Presbyterian divine already mentioned (see p. 82), and the papers which passed between them satisfactorily prove not only the king's sincere attachment to the Church, but also his intimate knowledge of the apostolical principle of ecclesiastical discipline.

<sup>e</sup> The king issued his orders to that effect from Newcastle, June 10. Oxford surrendered June 24, Worcester, July 22, Pendennis Castle, Aug. 17,

## NOTE.

## THE UNIVERSITIES.

As the strongholds alike of learning and loyalty, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were the objects of the especial hatred of the Puritans. They gained possession of both by military force, and they exerted to the full all the licence which that circumstance might be supposed to entitle them to. Oxford was a royal garrison, and was thus saved from their hands until the close of the civil war, but Cambridge was defenceless, and after being plundered of its plate in August, 1642, was converted into a garrison and a gaol, many of the heads of houses carried prisoners to London, and the rest of its members standing in daily peril of their lives from the violence of the soldiery. In January, 1643, an ordinance was passed for "regulating" the University, the execution of which was committed to the earl of Manchester, and in consequence he proceeded to eject at least two hundred masters and fellows, and twice as many scholars, including among them such men as Cosin, Sterne, Beale, Martin and Laney, and supplied their places with others whose only recommendation was that they were ready to take the Covenant, or any other engagement, as the price of preferment. The ejected members were commanded to quit the University within three days, "upon pain of imprisonment and plunder," and Cambridge was thus promptly reduced to a seminary of Puritanism. "The Knipperdollings of the age," says one of the sufferers, "reduced a glorious and renowned University almost to a mere Münster, and did more in less than three years than the apostate Julian could effect in all his reign, viz. broke the heart-strings of learning and all learned men, and thereby luxated all the joints of Christianity in the kingdom."

The events of the war postponed the ruin of Oxford for some years, but the city was at last surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax (June 24, 1646). The capitulation expressly promised that the University should be free from "sequestrations, fines, taxes, and all other molestations whatsoever," but, in spite of this, the parliament at once proceeded with their design of reducing it to the same condition as its sister University. As a pre-

and Raglan Castle, Aug. 19. On the Visitation of Oxford, in violation of the articles of its capitulation, see Note.

<sup>1</sup> The author of *Querela Cantabrigiensis*; probably Dr. John Barwick, an active loyalist, who managed the secret correspondence with the king, and was in consequence rigorously imprisoned, but survived until the Restoration, and died dean of St. Paul's, in December, 1664.

liminary, seven Presbyterian divines, members of colleges, were sent to preach in any pulpits that they pleased, and to endeavour to recommend "the blessed reformation" intended; these men had little success with the members of the University, and were fiercely opposed by one Erbury, and other Independents, who fairly silenced them in disputation. The parliament, however, had no intention of resting their cause on mere arguments. On May 1, 1647, they passed an ordinance for the visitation of the University, by Sir Nathaniel Brent, (formerly vicar-general to Archbishop Laud,) five of the seven preachers, William Prynne, and seventeen others, who were to declare vacant the places of all refusers of the Covenant, all opposers of the Directory, and all who had borne arms against the parliament, and to certify the names of the persons thus deprived.

These visitors commenced their proceedings by issuing a citation for the heads of the University to appear before them in the Convocation-house "between the hours of nine and eleven" on the 4th of June. The University, in answer, published its Judgment, condemning the Covenant and the Directory (June 1), and when the visitors arrived, the vice-chancellor (Dr. Samuel Fell) took advantage of the length of a sermon preached by one of their number, and which was not concluded till after eleven o'clock, to break up the convocation before they could present themselves in it. The next day a system of resistance was organized, which drove the visitors to apply for enlarged powers, and when these were granted by a new ordinance (Aug. 26), they were no more regarded than the former had been. A commission was next issued in the name of the king for a visitation, but its validity was disputed by Dr. Wightwick, master of Pembroke College, and though he was at once deprived of office, the proctors delivered a formal protest against the visitation, which at last occasioned the removal of the cause to London.

Meanwhile Dr. Fell had been voted out of his office as vice-chancellor, but continuing to exercise his functions, had been sent prisoner to London; other heads of houses had appeared before the visitors for the express purpose of disputing their authority; and vacancies that had occurred in some of the colleges were filled up by election, in spite of injunctions to the contrary. The parliament then took the matter in hand, and after hearing counsel for the University, on the 9th of December, voted its conduct to be derogatory to their authority, and gave effect to this by shortly after depriving five heads of houses and three of the canons of Christ Church; nothing daunted, however, the remaining officers refused to publish the sentence, and the students tore the notices down from the walls.

At length, at the end of March, 1648, a strong guard was

placed at the disposal of the visitors, and soon after the earl of Pembroke, who had been named chancellor, repaired to Oxford, when the expulsion of all the remaining heads of houses (except Paul Hood, the rector of Lincoln, and Gerard Langbaine, provost of Queen's) was promptly proceeded with. But the fellows, the graduates, and the students still remained, and the latter especially feared not to treat the visitors with every mark of contempt and aversion. They wrote and circulated pamphlets in which the intruders were attacked with stern invective in some cases, in others held up to ridicule in doggerel verses, and though the Knipperdollings laboured earnestly to suppress them, many of these productions have come down to our time. The visitors now made the whole body prisoners, and demanded from them, on pain of expulsion, an answer in writing whether they submitted to the visitation or not. Very few indeed complied; the expulsion of the rest was voted, and to give effect to this, proclamation was made by beat of drum, and with a strong guard, before the gate of each college, that if any who had been voted out presumed to remain in the University, they should be given over as prisoners to the governor. Even this threat, however, did not dislodge the students, and the governor (Thomas Kelsey, a button-maker) at last (Aug. 17, 1648) made the decisive announcement, that "if any one who had been expelled did presume to tarry in the town, or should be taken within five miles of it, he should be deemed a spy, and be punished with death." Too many instances were fresh in every man's mind to allow any doubt that this threat would be carried into effect, and accordingly all further opposition to the "godly reformation" was at last abandoned.

The most lucrative places in the University were of course the prize of the visitors and their immediate assistants<sup>‡</sup>, but after all these were provided for, the colleges were comparatively empty, and "the dregs of the neighbour University," says Anthony à Wood, were transferred, or transferred themselves, from Cambridge to Oxford.

"They were," he says, "commonly called Seekers, were great frequenters of the sermons at St. Mary's, preached by the six ministers appointed by parliament, and other Presbyterian ministers that preached in other churches in Oxford, and sometimes frequenters of the conventicles of Independents and Anabaptists. The generality of them had mortified countenances, puling voices, and eyes commonly, when in discourse, lifted up, with hands lying on their breasts; they mostly had short hair, which at that time was commonly called the 'Committee-cut,' and went in *cuerpo*, in a shabby condition, and looked rather like apprentices, or antiquated schoolboys, than aca-

<sup>‡</sup> Brent was made warden of Merton; Wilkinson, president of Magdalen; and Reynolds, dean of Christ Church, and vice-chancellor.

demicians or ministers; and therefore few or none of the old stamp, or royal party, would come near to, or sort themselves with them, but rather endeavoured to put scorn on them, and make them ridiculous."

A passage from *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, though originally referring to Cambridge only, may aptly close this notice of the Puritan desolation of both Universities:—

"Thus are we imprisoned or banished for our consciences, being not so much as accused of anything else, only suspected of loyalty to our King, and fidelity to our Mother the Church of England: and not only so, but quite stripped of all our livelihood, and exposed to beggary, having nothing left us to sustain the necessities of nature, and many of us no friends to go to, but destitute and forlorn, not knowing whither to bend one step when we set footing out of Cambridge, having only one companion, which will make us rejoice in our utmost afflictions, viz., a clear conscience in a righteous cause; humbly submitting ourselves to the chastisement of the Almighty, who, after He hath tried us, will at last cast His rods into the fire.

"As for us, God forbid that we should take up any railing or cursing, who are commanded only to bless: we are so far from that, that we have rather chosen to let the names of our greatest persecutors rot in our ruins, than so much as mention them with our pen, save only where necessity compelled us unto it.

"But though we spare their names, we hope we may without offence to any describe their qualities. And therefore, if posterity shall ask, 'Who thrust out one of the eyes of this kingdom? who made Eloquence dumb, Philosophy sottish, widowed the Arts, and drove the Muses from their ancient habitation? who plucked the reverend and orthodox professors out of their chairs, and silenced them in prison or their graves? who turned religion into rebellion, and changed the apostolical chair into a desk for blasphemy, and tore the garland from off the head of Learning, to place it on the dull brows of disloyal ignorance?' If they shall ask, 'Who made those ancient and beautiful chapels, the sweet remembrances and monuments of our forefathers' charity, and kind fomenters of their children's devotion, to become ruinous heaps of dust and stones? or who unhived those numerous swarms of labouring bees, which used to drop honey-dews over all this kingdom, to place in their rooms swarms of senseless drones?' 'Tis quickly answered, 'Those they were, who endeavouring to share three crowns, and put them in their own pockets, have transformed this free kingdom into a large gaol, to keep the liberty of the subject: they who maintain 100,000 robbers and murderers by sea and land, to protect our lives, and the property of our goods: they who have gone a king-catching these three years, hunting their most gracious sovereign like a partridge on the mountains, in his own defence: they who have possessed themselves of his majesty's towns, navy, and magazines, and robbed him of all his revenues, to make him a glorious king: who have multiplied oaths, protestations, vows, Leagues and Covenants, for ease of tender consciences: filling all pulpits with jugglers for the Cause, canting sedition, atheism, and rebellion, to root out popery and Babylon, and settle the kingdom of Christ: who, from a trembling guilt of a legal trial, have engaged three kingdoms and left them weltering in their own blood: they lastly, which when they had glutted themselves with spoil and rapine, hissed for a foreign viper to come and eat up the bowels of their dear Mother: the very same have stopped the mouth of all learning (following herein the example of their elder brother, the Turk), lest any should be wiser than themselves, or posterity know what a world of wickedness they have committed.'"

**A.D. 1646.** The king's great seal, taken at Oxford, is broken up in the presence of the parliament, Aug. 11.

The parliament and the Scots exchange angry letters, and the parliament manifest an intention of expelling their allies.

The Scots offer to withdraw from England on payment of a sum for their services. The amount is, after much contention <sup>1</sup>, fixed at £400,000, one-half to be paid before they quit England, and the balance to be secured on "the public faith!"

The parliament, by vote, denounce forfeiture of life and property against all who shall hereafter oppose them in arms, Dec. 8.

The parliament send propositions to the king, which he finally declines to discuss, unless allowed to return in safety and honour to Westminster, Dec. 20.

**A.D. 1647.** The Scots leave Newcastle, having given up the king into the hands of the parliamentary commissioners <sup>2</sup>, Jan. 30. He is removed under a strong guard to his own house at Holmby, in Northamptonshire.

<sup>1</sup> The Scots' commissioners, in August, desired "to have consideration for their losses, hazards, charges, and damage;" this consideration they afterwards stated at £1,000,000 for arrears, "besides losses" to an indefinite amount. They afterwards offered to take £500,000 for the whole, which was ultimately agreed to, but with deductions for free quarter, which reduced it to £400,000.

<sup>2</sup> The money was raised by the sale of the bishops' lands, for which ordinances were passed, Oct. 9, Nov. 16 and 30. The Scots received £100,000 a few days before, and a like sum a few days after, they gave up the king, whence they are often said to have sold him to his enemies. The accuracy of this charge has been questioned, although it cannot be denied that they exhibited a lamentable want of generosity, in taking advantage of the fact, that he came to them without a formal promise of protection, on the faith of the private negotiation that had been carried on with them before he left Oxford. Perhaps, however, they felt compelled to act as they did, for the English parliament had by vote declared (Sept. 21) that the disposal of the king belonged exclusively to them, and shewed themselves ready to enforce the claim by arms. When the matter was discussed in the Scottish parliament, six peers and eight commoners protested against the surrender. The first one to do so was Alexander Strang, a shoemaker, then provost of Forfar, who exclaimed, "I disagree, as honest men should do."

<sup>3</sup> The earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, Lord Montague, Sir James Harrington, Sir John Holland, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Cooke, Mr. John Crew, and Major-general Brown.

The parliament take steps to disband the army. They resolve to send a portion to Ireland, to reduce the establishment for England, and to dismiss all officers above the rank of colonel, except Sir Thomas Fairfax, March 8<sup>1</sup>.

Harlech Castle, the last royal post, surrenders, March 30.

The king writes to the parliament, May 12, offering to consent to their propositions regarding religion and the power of the sword. His letter is favourably received, which displeases the army.

The king is seized at Holmby house, by Joyce, a cornet of Fairfax's lifeguard, June 4, and carried to Childersley, near Cambridge.

The army take a solemn engagement at Newmarket, June 5, refusing to be disbanded. The parliamentary commissioners visit them at Triplow-heath (June 10), and endeavour in vain to break their union.

The marquis of Huntley is obliged to lay down his arms in Scotland, June.

The marquis of Ormond makes an agreement with the parliamentary commanders (June 19), and withdraws from Ireland. The Romanists continue the contest, and offer the sovereignty of the island to foreign powers.

The parliament order London to be fortified, and

<sup>1</sup> This blow was aimed at Cromwell and the other Independents, but the Presbyterian party soon discovered that they had conquered their sovereign only to find a worse master. Fairfax, though one of themselves, was easily induced by Cromwell to move the army from the centre of England to Saffron Walden, with the manifest intention of overawing the parliament. The troops demanded payment of their arrears, provision for the wounded, and for widows and orphans, and an ordinance of indemnity. The parliament at first took a high tone, and threatened them as "disturbers of the public peace" (March 29), but this made matters worse. The soldiers established a kind of parliament of their own, and unanimously resolved neither to be disbanded nor to take service in Ireland until their demands were conceded. The parliament now tried to soothe them by passing the ordinance of indemnity (May 21), and issuing a portion of their arrears. This did not avail. The soldiers combined still more closely together, compelled the parliament to withdraw their offensive declaration, and when they saw a probability of the Presbyterians and the royalists uniting against them, they broke all their measures by seizing the person of the king.

forbid the nearer approach of the army. The soldiers impeach eleven members<sup>m</sup> of treason, and march to Uxbridge (June 25), when the parliament give way, exclude the obnoxious members, demolish the new fortifications, and appoint commissioners to treat for full satisfaction to the army.

The army offer to replace the king on the throne, on certain conditions, but he refuses them.

Fairfax advances towards London, and is joined by Lenthall, the speaker, and several of the members of the parliament. He enters London without opposition, Aug. 6, when the Houses re-assemble, and after some opposition from the Presbyterians, all the votes hostile to the army are rescinded.

The king is placed at Hampton Court, and is treated with much attention by the army. He, however, enters into a design of the Scots and others to invade England. This is discovered, and his fears are excited by the fierce denunciations of the Levellers<sup>n</sup>. He escapes from Hampton Court, Nov. 12, and seeks refuge with Colonel Hammond<sup>o</sup>, governor of the Isle of Wight. By him he is placed in Carisbrooke Castle, Nov. 14.

<sup>m</sup> They were Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Glyn, Col. Harley, Denzil Holles, Sir William Lewis, Colonel Long, Major-general Massey, Sir John Maynard, Mr. Nichols, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir William Waller. Holles, Long, and Stapleton retired to France, where Stapleton died very shortly after his landing at Calais; the others were allowed to withdraw to their own houses.

<sup>n</sup> These men, who formed a very large proportion of the army, professed the most exalted ideas of freedom, and scorned to be bound by any existing mode of government in Church or State. They advocated a republic of the wildest kind, and looking on the king as a serious obstacle to their plans, they spoke of him as Ahab, and openly demanded his blood. Their fanaticism was fanned by the outrageous discourses of Hugh Peters, a preacher. He was born at Fowey, in Cornwall, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, but was expelled for his immoral life; he then became a stage-player, yet after a while he obtained ordination from Bishop Montaigne, and was lecturer at St. Sepulchre's, London, but he was expelled from this office also, and fled to Holland. Returning on the breaking out of the civil war, he acted as a military chaplain. Peters was a leading man among the Anabaptists during the Commonwealth, and at length was executed as a regicide, October 29, 1660.

<sup>o</sup> He was the son-in-law of Hampden. He died in Ireland in October, 1654.



Cromwell endeavours to curb the Levellers, but fails. He then comes to an agreement with them.

The king renews his offers for an accommodation to the parliament, Nov. 16. They are not accepted, and he negotiates anew with the Scots.

The parliament at length offer four propositions<sup>p</sup> to the king as the basis of a personal treaty, Dec. 24; the Scots offer less onerous terms, and he refuses his assent, Dec. 28. He on the same day endeavours to escape from Carisbrooke Castle, but is prevented<sup>q</sup>.

**A.D. 1648.** The parliament, under the coercion of the army, declare they will no more treat with the king, nor allow others to do so, under the penalty of treason.

The king publishes an appeal to the people against this vote. It is favourably received, and Colonel Poyer, a parliamentary officer, hoists the royal standard at Pembroke. He is joined by other officers, as also by the royalists, and is at first successful. Cromwell marches against him, and after a six weeks' siege, captures Pembroke, and crushes the movement<sup>r</sup>.

Tumults occur in London and many other places, and an army is raised in Kent, in favour of the king.

The duke of Hamilton<sup>s</sup> induces the Scots to espouse the royal cause.

The young duke of York escapes, from St. James's, April 22.

<sup>p</sup> These required, that the militia should be placed at their disposal; that the king's declarations against the parliament should be withdrawn; that the peerages bestowed since the commencement of the war should be set aside; and, lastly, that the Houses should be adjourned only with their own consent.

<sup>q</sup> Captain Burley, a royalist, who attempted to get up a rising in the island to favour this project, was seized and executed; as was Roger Newland, of Newlands near Lymington. He said on the scaffold, "Deprived of my life and property, I leave to my posterity my name, which none can assail; my arms, which traitors, ignorant alike of gentility and heraldry, cannot efface; and my loyalty, which none can impugn." His family in consequence assumed the motto, "*Le nom, les armes, la loyauté*," which they still use.

<sup>r</sup> The principal leaders were obliged to cast lots for their lives. The lot fell on Poyer, and he was shot at London, after a long imprisonment, April 25, 1649.

<sup>s</sup> See A.D. 1633.

The Kentish rising occurs, May 23 ; six ships of war in the Downs mount the king's flag, and repair to Holland. The prince of Wales takes the command, and appears at the mouth of the Thames with a fleet of nineteen ships, early in July<sup>1</sup>.

Fairfax defeats the Kentish men at Maidstone, June 1. A party of them, under the earl of Norwich (George Goring), endeavour to enter London, but being foiled by the vigilance of Skippon, retire into Essex, and occupy Colchester, June 12.

Colonel John Morris surprises Pontefract Castle, June 3 ; he holds it for the king.

The Scots enter England, July 5, where Berwick and Carlisle are in the hands of the royalists under Sir Mar-maduke Langdale. Cromwell and Lambert advance, and totally defeat them near Preston, Aug. 17 ; the duke of Hamilton is captured at Uttoxeter, Aug. 20, but Langdale conceals himself in London, and escapes to the continent<sup>2</sup>.

The earl of Holland appears in arms at Kingston, July 5. He is defeated and put to flight, July 7, and captured at St. Neot's, July 10.

Colchester surrenders to Fairfax, Aug. 27. Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas, two of the prisoners, are shot by virtue of the parliamentary ordinance<sup>3</sup>, the same evening. The earl of Norwich and Lord Capel<sup>4</sup> are reserved for trial.

The prince's fleet retires to Holland, at the end of August, without attempting to rescue the king.

On the proposition of the Peers, (Sept. 11,) negotia-

<sup>1</sup> His forces landed at Deal, and occupied the castle for a time ; but it was found impossible to reach the Isle of Wight, as had been intended.

<sup>2</sup> He returned at the Restoration, but died soon after, Aug. 6, 1661.

<sup>3</sup> That of Dec. 8, 1646. See p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Capel, created Lord Capel in 1641. He was executed in 1649, Cromwell stating openly that the new order of things could not be regarded as safe whilst he lived, so great was his courage, and so active his loyalty. His son Arthur was created Earl of Essex, April 20, 1661, but joined the revolutionary party, and died a prisoner in the Tower, July 13, 1683.

tions are resumed with the king. They were opened at Newport, Sept. 18, and continued until Nov. 27, when the king agreed to most of the terms demanded<sup>7</sup>.

The marquis of Ormond returns to Ireland, Sept. 29.

Cromwell advances into Scotland, in September, and disperses some new levies of the royalists. He retakes Berwick, and Carlisle, and returns to London, Dec. 6, when he establishes himself at Whitehall.

The Levellers, while the negotiations are carried on, demand the blood of the king more vehemently than before. He is seized at Newport, by order of the council of the army, Nov. 30, and imprisoned in Hurst Castle.

The council of officers publish a declaration accusing the parliament of perfidy, and desire all well-affected members to resort to them, Nov. 30. At the same time several regiments march into London.

The parliament vote, after a three days' debate, that the king's concessions are a sufficient ground for a settlement, Dec. 5. On the next day, the House is "purged" by Colonel Thomas Pride<sup>a</sup>, when 47 members are seized and imprisoned<sup>a</sup>, and 96 excluded from the House.

The remains of the parliament<sup>b</sup> (known as the Rump) vote the late treaty with the king dishonourable and dangerous, Dec. 13; and afterwards (Dec. 23) that he shall be brought to trial, as guilty of treason against the people.

<sup>7</sup> These were, to leave the militia at the disposal of the parliament; to leave also the reduction of Ireland in their hands; to pass an act of oblivion; to abolish episcopacy, take the Covenant, and receive the Assembly of Divines and the Directory. The political propositions the king agreed to; he also consented to allow, for a limited period, of the Assembly and the Directory, but he refused to subscribe the Covenant, or to deny the divine origin of episcopacy, though he was willing, probably from deference to the views of Archbishop Usher, to strip bishops of their property, and to be satisfied with a bare recognition of an inherent difference between their order and that of presbyters.

<sup>a</sup> He was originally a drayman. He was made one of Cromwell's House of Peers, and died Oct. 23, 1658.

<sup>b</sup> Lord Grey of Groby pointed them out.

<sup>c</sup> It mustered only about fifty members, and appears to have been at the absolute disposal of the army.

The king is removed from Hurst Castle, Dec. 18, and brought to St. James's. Thence he is taken to Windsor Castle, Dec. 22, where the customary respect to royalty is denied him.

**A.D. 1649.** The Commons vote that the king of England making war against his parliament is guilty of treason; and also that a high court of justice shall be erected to try "Charles Stuart, king of England," on that charge, Jan. 1. The Peers refuse to concur, and adjourn their house, Jan. 2. The Commons then vote that the supreme authority resides in themselves, Jan. 4; and pass the ordinance for the king's trial, Jan. 6.

Cromwell professes to oppose the proceedings against the king, and Fairfax positively refuses to join in them. The Scottish commissioners protest, but are disregarded.

The officers of the army draw up a proposed new constitution, called "An Agreement of the People," which is presented to the parliament, Jan. 20.

The king is brought to Whitehall, Jan. 19. The high court of justice assembles, Jan. 20. The king is brought before it, three different days (Jan. 20, 22, 23), but refuses to acknowledge its jurisdiction. Some formal evidence of his appearing in arms against the parliament is heard, Jan. 26; the king is again brought forward, and demands a conference with the parliament, which is refused. Judgment of death is pronounced against him, Jan. 27.

Ambassadors from Holland arrive to intercede for the king, Jan. 26. They bring a sheet of paper signed and sealed by the prince of Wales, for the heads of the army to fill up with their own terms for sparing the king's life.

The king takes leave of his children (the Princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester), declines to see his nephew (Prince Charles Louis<sup>c</sup>) and other friends,

<sup>c</sup> He had for some years been an associate of the parliamentarians, and had taken the Covenant.

and with the assistance of Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, prepares for death.

The king is brought on foot from St. James's to Whitehall, at ten in the morning. He is allowed to rest awhile<sup>4</sup>, and at 2 in the afternoon is beheaded, Jan. 30. His body is removed to Windsor, and there buried, Feb. 8.

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.
The Huguenot war closed by the Pacification of Nismes .	1629
Gustavus Adolphus heads the Protestants in Germany .	1630
Battle of Lützen; Gustavus Adolphus killed . . .	1632
The Portuguese regain their independence . . .	1640
Battle of Rocroy; the Spanish veteran infantry almost annihilated . . . . .	1643
War between the Turks and Venetians . . . . .	1644
Revolt of Masaniello at Naples . . . . .	1647
Peace of Westphalia, which closes the Thirty Years' War	1648
Civil War of the Fronde in France . . . . .	1648

<sup>4</sup> The delay is believed to have been occasioned by a discussion of the offer of the prince of Wales, but the principal actors doubtless felt that they had already proceeded too far to recede with safety.



Arms of the Lord Protector Cromwell, from his Great Seal.

## THE COMMONWEALTH.

THE government of England might have been with propriety styled a Commonwealth from the 4th of January, 1649, when the Lower House of Parliament voted that the supreme authority resided in themselves alone as the representatives of the people, but the title was not formally assumed until the day of the murder of King Charles.

The House of Peers, reduced to less than twenty sitting members, was in a few days after voted useless, and all power appeared to reside in the Commons, and a Council of State<sup>a</sup> which they had created. They were, however, in reality, but the puppets of the "grandeens of the army," and of these, one man was so conspicuously the chief, that the ensuing ten years may be correctly described as the reign of Oliver Cromwell<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The members of the first council were, the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Salisbury, lords Grey of Werke and Grey of Groby; Sir Thomas Fairfax, Cromwell, Skippon, Ludlow, and Hutchinson, soldiers; Bradshaw, Rolles, St. John, Whitelock, and Wilde, lawyers; Sir Arthur Hasilrigge, Sir Harry Vane, Pennington (formerly lord mayor), and 22 others of less note. The palace of Whitehall was assigned to them; they were to hold office for one year only. They divided themselves into five committees, for the army, navy, Ireland, foreign affairs, and law, and the minutes of their proceedings are preserved in the Public Record Office; Walter Frost was their general secretary, and John Milton their secretary for foreign tongues. With some changes in the men, effected by ballot, this was the executive until Cromwell dispersed the parliament, but that event had been preceded by fierce dissensions between the civilians and the military members.

<sup>b</sup> Such seems to have been the view of his contemporaries; as Whitelock

This remarkable man, born at Huntingdon, April 25, 1599, was the son of Robert Cromwell, and the grandson of Sir Henry Williams (or Cromwell), of Hinchinbrook, who claimed descent from the ancient princes of Wales. Oliver was in 1616 sent to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and subsequently professed to study the law in London, but was not distinguished for orderly conduct or application in either. He soon retired to the country, and married; obtained, by bequest from an uncle, a considerable addition to his property<sup>c</sup>; and held largely as a lessee from the bishop of Ely. He had now become a Puritan, but was named a justice of the peace for his native town in a new charter granted in 1630. He was member for Huntingdon in the first three parliaments of Charles I., and was a person of sufficient consequence to greatly impede the drainage of the Fen district, which had been granted to the earl of Bedford, with powers that were generally regarded as too extensive. On the failure of his kinsman Hampden's attempt to resist the payment of shipmoney<sup>d</sup>, many Puritan families (Hampden's and Cromwell's among them) attempted to retire to New England, but were obliged to disembark from their ships.

Cromwell sat in the Long Parliament as member for Cambridge, and when the civil war broke out he soon distinguished himself by his courage and address. The compact organization of the eastern counties, known as the Association, was mainly his work, although Lord Kimbolton was the nominal head. Cromwell, however, would not long be his subordinate; quarrels ensued, and the result was the Self-denying Ordinance<sup>e</sup>, which removed Essex and the Presbyterians, remodelled the army, gained the victory of Naseby, and extinguished the war.

mentions, under date of Dec. 18, 1649, the seizure of "a packet of scandalous books," one of which was named "The Character of King Cromwell."

<sup>c</sup> He thus became wealthy enough to be called on to receive knighthood; but he preferred to pay £10 for exemption, April 20, 1631.

<sup>d</sup> See A.D. 1637.

<sup>e</sup> See A.D. 1645.

Fairfax, the lord-general, gave himself up blindly to the bidding of Cromwell, suffered the parliament to be reduced to a mere committee of the army, and saw the king put to death without an effort to save him; but he would not make war on his fellow-Presbyterians of Scotland, and thus resigned his command, which, as a matter of course, became the prize of Cromwell. A short space sufficed for him to overthrow the Irish, the Scots, and the young king himself; when the parliament attempted to reduce the army, they fell also, and Cromwell became lord-protector, and aspired to the higher name of king, but this his own officers<sup>f</sup> would not allow him to assume.

The republicans, whom Cromwell had overthrown, had governed with vigour, and had raised the reputation of the country abroad; the Protector followed a like course. He speedily concluded the Dutch war, on his own terms, saw his alliance sedulously courted by both France and Spain, chastised the insolence of the Barbary corsairs and the petty Italian states, and did much to redeem his declaration that "he would make the name of an Englishman as much feared as that of a Roman had ever been." He turned his arms, on no very evident provocation, against the Spaniards, wrested both Jamaica and Dunkirk from them<sup>g</sup>, and captured or destroyed

<sup>f</sup> The principal of these were Desborough, his brother-in-law; Fleetwood, his son-in-law; Lambert, Ludlow, and Harrison.

<sup>g</sup> Foreign conquests had been so long unknown to England, that these acquisitions greatly strengthened his government. Waller, the poet, who from a royalist (see A.D. 1643) had become the panegyrist of the Protector, exclaims:—

"Our dying hero from the continent  
Ravish'd whole towns; and forts from Spaniards reft,  
As his last legacy to Britain left.  
The ocean, which so long our hopes confined,  
Could give no limits to his vaster mind;  
Our bounds' enlargement was his latest toil,  
Nor hath he left us prisoners to our isle;  
Under the tropic is our language spoke,  
And part of Flanders hath received our yoke.



their treasure-ships. He allied himself with France, and obliged the intriguing Mazarin<sup>a</sup> to consent to exclude the royalist exiles, as the price of his assistance in the Low Countries; he also compelled him to protect the Protestant Vaudois<sup>1</sup> against the cruelty of the Duke of Savoy, whom he could not himself reach.

At home Cromwell was less successful. He called two parliaments, but found neither of them compliant, and was obliged to rule avowedly by the sword. Intended risings against his government and plots against his life were discovered in every quarter; the Levellers, the more moderate republicans, the Presbyterians, and the royalists combined to overthrow him, and he had few other adherents beside his soldiery. Worn out by anxiety and disease, he died at Whitehall<sup>a</sup>, Sept. 3, 1658, in the sixth year of his assumption of government, and was buried in the chapel of Henry VII., at Westminster shortly after<sup>1</sup>.

From civil broils he did us disengage,  
Found nobler objects for our martial rage;  
And, with wise conduct, to his country show'd  
The ancient way of conquering abroad."

<sup>a</sup> Julius Mazarin, of a Sicilian family, was born in 1602, at Piscina, in the Abruzzi. By a long course of intrigue he attained the direction of affairs in France, trained up Louis XIV. in ideas of encroachment on his neighbours, and prepared the way for his conquests. His views were less grand than those of Richelieu, but he was at least as cruel, and more cunning. Mazarin became a cardinal, aggrandised his family, and died in 1661, entitled, as his only commendation, to the praise of a patron of letters.

<sup>1</sup> Cromwell interested himself warmly in favour of these people. He offered them lands in Ireland, gave £2,000 towards a subscription for their relief, which soon amounted to more than £30,000, then a very large sum, and paid the expense of printing a History of their sufferings, drawn up by his agent, Samuel Morland. Milton's noble sonnet relating to them is familiar to all.

<sup>a</sup> It is singular that Whitelock, usually so well informed, should have made the mistake of asserting that Cromwell died at Hampton Court, "about two in the afternoon." Clarendon, agreeing with the official account, says correctly, at Whitehall.

<sup>1</sup> His body was buried privately very shortly after his death, but the public funeral did not take place until Nov. 23, and was of the most pompous description. Letters patent were granted Nov. 22, 1659, by "the Keepers of the liberty of England by authority of Parliament," for the payment of £6,929 6s. 5d. to Robert Walton, citizen and draper of London, for "black cloth and bays for the funeral of his late highness."

Cromwell had married Elizabeth Bourchier<sup>m</sup>, and left, beside daughters, two sons, Richard and Henry, of whom one was, at the time of his father's death, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and the other was for a brief period acknowledged as lord-protector<sup>n</sup>. But the officers of the army, headed by Lambert<sup>o</sup>, Fleetwood, and Desborough, soon seized on the government, recalled the Long Parliament, then dismissed it and again attempted to govern in their own name; they were, however, circumvented by Monk, and the lawful king was recalled, who entered London amid so great a display of fervent loyalty, that he pleasantly remarked that "it must surely have been his own fault that had kept him so long away from such excellent subjects."

That Oliver Cromwell possessed great talents for war and government is allowed by Clarendon, Ludlow<sup>p</sup>, and

<sup>m</sup> They were married Aug. 22, 1620, at the church of St. Giles Cripplegate, London.

<sup>n</sup> Richard went on the Continent just before the Restoration, and remained abroad until about 1680, then returned to England, and lived at Cheshunt until 1712, under an assumed name. Henry retired to Spinney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, and lived as a country gentleman to 1674. Elizabeth, married to Mr. Claypole, died Aug. 6, 1658. Bridget, married successively to Ireton and to Charles Fleetwood, died in 1681. Mary, countess Fauconberg, died in 1712; and Frances, Lady Russell, survived till 1721. Cromwell's eldest son, Robert, died in 1639; and another son, Oliver, a captain in the army, was killed in opposing the duke of Hamilton, in 1648.

<sup>o</sup> John Lambert, born in Yorkshire in 1619, was a law student, but joined the parliamentary army as soon as the war broke out. He rose to be general of Cromwell's forces, but refused to acknowledge him as Protector, and resigned his post. He failed in an attempt to establish a military government after the retirement of Richard Cromwell, and was condemned to death. His life, however, was spared. He amused his leisure with painting, and cultivating flowers, his imprisonment being by no means rigorous, for he had shewn kindness when in power to many of the royal party, and this was not forgotten. He died a Romanist, in 1683.

<sup>p</sup> Edmund Ludlow, born in 1620 at Maiden Bradley, was bred to the law, but took up arms for the parliament, and exhibited much zeal in their cause. He had imbibed the sternest republican principles, and hence he not only sat as one of the king's judges, but was also a resolute opponent of the usurpation of Cromwell. On the Restoration he was committed to the Tower, Sept. 6, 1660, but escaped. He visited England in the three following years in the hope of heading a new revolt. Failing in this, he retired to the Continent, and did not return until after the Revolution. His reception, however, was so unfavourable, that he soon departed, and he died at Vevay in 1693. His Memoirs, written in exile, are devoted to a vindication of "the good old cause," and, though perhaps depicting its opponents in too dark colours, have a high degree of interest and value.

other hostile delineators of his character<sup>4</sup>. They justly charge him with hypocrisy, violence, and boundless ambition; but, on the other hand, are obliged to confess that he filled the post he had usurped with vigour, and with decent splendour, and re-established the influence of England abroad. He proposed to found a third university (Durham<sup>5</sup>), substituted the English language for French or Latin in official proceedings wherever practicable, abstained, in general, from interference with the ordinary course of the laws, and, except in the case of his Irish campaign, was perhaps as little stained with blood as any private man who ever forced his way to a throne<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Hutchinson, who may be considered as speaking the sentiments of the Independents, gives a very unfavourable character of Cromwell and his family. She says,—"Cromwell and his army grew wanton with their power, and invented a thousand tricks of government, which, when nobody opposed, they themselves fell to dislike and vary every day . . . He weeded in a few months' time above one hundred and fifty godly officers out of the army, with whom many of the religious soldiers went off, and in their room abundance of the king's dissolute soldiers were entertained. . . . His wife and children were setting up for principality, which suited no better on any of them than scarlet on the ape; only, to speak the truth of himself, he had much natural greatness, and well became the place he had usurped. His daughter Fleetwood was humbled, and not exalted with these things, but the rest were insolent fools. Claypole, who married his daughter, and his son Henry, were two debauched, ungodly cavaliers. Richard was a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness. His court was full of sin and vanity, and the more abominable, that they had not yet quite cast away the name of God, but profaned it by taking it in vain upon them."

<sup>5</sup> This had been first proposed about May, 1650, when a representation had been made to the parliament, desiring "that the college and houses of the dean and chapter, being now empty and in decay, may be employed for erecting a college, school, or academy, for the benefit of the northern counties, which are so far from the Universities." The college was founded by letters patent, dated May 15, 1657, and was endowed with lands of the value of £900 a-year; it was empowered to grant degrees, and was to have a press. It was to consist of a provost and twelve fellows; Philip Hutton, rector of Sedgely, being named the first provost. The other Universities, however, petitioned against the project, and it was abandoned.

<sup>6</sup> "He was not a man of blood," says Lord Clarendon, "and totally declined Machiavel's method, which prescribes upon any alteration of government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the council of officers, it was more than once proposed, that there might be a general massacre of all the royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government, but that Cromwell would never consent to it; it may be, out of too much contempt of his enemies."

The era of the Commonwealth was marked by the appearance of many valuable works, hardly to be expected in a time of such confusion. "All the professors of true religion and good literature," says Bishop Kennet, in his *Life of Somner*, the antiquary, "were silenced and oppressed. And yet Providence so ordered, that the loyal suffering party did all that was then done for the improvement of letters and the honour of the nation. Those that intruded into the places of power and profit, did nothing but defile the press with lying news and fast-sermons; while the poor ejected Churchmen did works of which the world was not worthy. I appeal to the *Monasticon*, *Decem Scriptores*, the *Polyglot Bible*, and the *Saxon Dictionary*;" to which the *Annals of the Old Testament*, and other productions of the learned Usher<sup>1</sup>, might have been added; the actual foundation of the chief learned society of England also dates from the same unpromising period. The fame of Selden as an author was gained before the civil war broke out; and perhaps the only really great literary name on the side of the Commonwealth is that of John Milton, and he is merely spoken of by Whitelock, as "one Mr. Milton,

<sup>1</sup> James Usher, the great advocate of what has been invidiously termed "moderate episcopacy," was born in Dublin, Jan. 4, 1580, and he became one of the earliest students of Trinity College, in that city. He distinguished himself in the Romish controversy, and gaining thus the favour of James I., he was in 1600 appointed to the see of Meath, whence he was in 1605 translated to the archiepiscopate of Armagh. Though a decided Calvinist in doctrine, Usher concurred in the adoption of the English Articles by the Irish Church (see A.D. 1635). He came to England in 1640, and the rebellion in the next year preventing his return to Ireland, he repaired to the king at Oxford, and, as a means of subsistence, was allowed to hold the see of Carlisle *in commendam*. He was greatly esteemed by the king, and was expressly summoned to assist him with his advice at the Treaty of Newport. Archbishop Usher produced many laborious works, written amid trouble and danger, and his learning and his virtues commanded the respect of many who were the avowed enemies of his order. Thus he was allowed to hold the preachship of Lincoln's Inn after the bishops' lands had been sold, and Cromwell listened to his earnest remonstrances in favour of the despoiled clergy, who owed some alleviation of their sufferings to him. Usher found a home in the house of the countess dowager of Peterborough for several years, and he died under her roof at Reigate, March 21, 1656. His remains were honoured with a public funeral, to the cost of which Cromwell contributed £200 by letter of privy seal, April 2, 1656.

a blind man," who wrote Latin; so little did his own party appreciate his genius.

The royal arms were systematically defaced during the period of the Commonwealth, and the States' Arms substituted, being, after the reduction of Scotland, the cross of St. George first and fourth; the saltire of St. Andrew second, and that of St. Patrick third; the Cromwells placed their arms (a lion rampant gardant argent) on an escutcheon surtout, sable.

#### NOTE.

##### THE SILENCED CHURCH.

THE Universities in effect destroyed, the clergy dispersed, and the Book of Common Prayer prohibited under the severest penalties, it might appear to the triumphant sectaries that the Church was indeed ruined; but such was by no means the case. Clergymen were found, all through the period of their tyranny, who continued to use the Common Prayer, and laymen, though ever in dread from spies, who received all the appointed ministrations of the Church; some among them sought and

"Some instances of this may be given, extracted from "Archæologia Cantiana," Vol. v. They are selected from entries in the family Bible of Richard Fogge, esq., of Banes Court, in Tilmanstone, a Kentish squire who suffered from the parliamentary sequestrators. (See p. 43.)

"March 31, 1645. Jane [his third daughter] christened the following day after the new fashion according to the Directory, my sister Jane Darell and my cousin Mary Bolton godmothers, and Mr. Thomas Monyns godfather, *only for a show*. She was christened by Nicholas Billingsley, rector of Tilmanstone, in the chamber over kitchen. My mother was that day buried after the new fashion by Mr. Billingsley, who then preached.

"Oct. 3, 1647. Richard [his third son] christened 14th Oct. following, by Mr. Thomas Russel, a great Cavalier, with the Book of Common Prayer, and signed with the cross. . . . N.B. He was christened in chamber over kitchen.

"March 1, 1649. Christopher christened in above chamber by young Mr. Harrington.

"30 June, 1650. William baptiz'd in above chamber by Parson Hart of Goodneston.

"Oct. 6, 1654. Cecily baptiz'd in the old way *cum signo crucis* by Mr. Henry Gayn, schoolmaster of Northborne. . . .

"28 June, 1649. My sister Anne Fogge was married to Mr. Christopher Boys, son to Mr. Edward Boys, of Uffington, in the parish of Goodneston. Mr. Hart married them *the old way*, with the Book of Common Prayer, in Tilmanstone church."

obtained ordination from the sequestered bishops; and, as late as the end of the year 1655, the service of the Church was openly performed in at least one church in London (St. Gregory by St. Paul's), but after Christmas-day of that year this ceased. Dr. Wild on that day, as Evelyn says, "preached the funeral sermon of preaching," and "the Church was reduced to a chamber and a conventicle, so sharp was the persecution."

Still there were, as Evelyn informs us, occasional "meetings of zealous Christians, who were generally much more devout and religious than in our greatest prosperity." Such meetings were usually held in private houses, and one such at least, on Christmas-day<sup>v</sup>, 1657, was broken in upon by the soldiery<sup>w</sup>. Evelyn, who was one of the congregation, thus describes the scene:—

"Dec. 25.—I went to London with my wife, to celebrate Christmas-day: Mr. Gunning preaching in Exeter chapel, on Micah vii. 2. Sermon ended, as he was giving us the holy sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away. It fell to my share to be confined to a room in the house, where yet I was permitted to dine with the master of it, and the countess of Dorset, Lady Hatton, and some others of quality who invited me. In the afternoon came Colonel Whaly, Goffe, and others, from Whitehall, to examine us one by one; some they committed to the marshal, some to prison. When I came before them, they took my name and abode, examined me why, contrary to an ordinance made that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity (so esteemed by them)<sup>x</sup>, I durst offend; and particularly be at common prayers, which they told me was but the mass in English, and particularly pray for Charles Stuart, for which we had no Scripture. I told them we did not pray for Charles Stuart, but for all Christian kings, princes and governors. They replied, in so doing we prayed for the king of Spain too, who was their enemy, and a papist; with other frivolous and ensnaring questions, and much threatening; and finding no colour to detain me, they dismissed me with much pity of my ignorance. These were men of high flight, and above ordinances, and spake spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to receive the sacrament, the miscreants held their muskets against us,

<sup>v</sup> Christmas-day appears to have been particularly distasteful to the Puritans. They tried to convert it into a fast, and Calamy, preaching before the House of Lords in 1645, declared that he knew not which was the greatest, the superstition or the profanity of its observance. But they could not bring even the London citizens to their opinion, and as late as 1656, one Parker, a member of Cromwell's second parliament, complained of their shutting their shops "on this foolish day," quite as carefully as on the Sabbath. The parliament was then sitting on Christmas-day, as was their practice, and he spoke of introducing a bill to compel the people to keep their shops open; but nothing appears to have been done in the matter.

<sup>w</sup> Whitelock says that he advised Cromwell not to take this step, "as that which was contrary to the liberty of conscience, so much owned and pleaded for by him and his friends;" but the parliamentary ordinance prohibiting the observance of Christmas being relied on by the other party, "the Protector gave way to it, and those meetings were suppressed by the soldiers."

<sup>x</sup> See p. 40.

as if they would have shot us at the altar, but yet suffered us to finish the office of communion, as perhaps not having instruction what to do in case they found us in that action. So I got home late the next day, blessed be God.\*

The rule of Puritanism was now happily very near its end. Cromwell's weak successor was soon displaced, and a military despotism was seen approaching, accompanied by all the fanatical licence of the Levellers, Anabaptists, Fifth Monarchy-men and a thousand other sectaries. Alarmed at this, the Presbyterian preachers chose to forget that their seditious sermons had been the original cause of very much of the mischief<sup>7</sup>, and began to look, for their own safety, to the restoration of the monarchy. The royalists thus breathed again, and soon presented so bold a front, that Monk, who evidently meditated a dictatorship, saw he should best consult his own advancement by forwarding their views. Being at the head of an overwhelming force, he was able to do this without bloodshed, and thus, though neither a great nor a good man, he was the providential instrument of overthrowing a tyranny, both civil and religious, more grievous than any to which this country had ever before been subjected—the rule of those who “turn religion into rebellion.”

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A.D. 1649. Charles II. becomes king *de jure*, Jan. 30<sup>8</sup>. He is proclaimed at Edinburgh, Feb. 5, and the Scots generally begin to arm for him. The States of Holland covertly favour him.

The duke of Hamilton and Lord Capel escape from their prisons, Jan. 30, Feb. 1. They are soon retaken, and a court is constituted for their trial, and that of other royalists.

The members who had voted (Dec. 5, 1648) that the king's concessions were satisfactory, formally excluded from the parliament, Feb. 1.

The House of Lords voted “useless and dangerous” by the Commons<sup>9</sup>, Feb. 6; the office of king declared

<sup>7</sup> Axtell, one of the regicides, openly professed this on the scaffold.

<sup>8</sup> On the same day, immediately after the execution of Charles I., proclamation was made in London, declaring it treason to give the title of king to any person without the assent of parliament.

<sup>9</sup> They had, on Feb. 1 and 5, sent to the Commons, desiring the appointment of a joint committee for settlement of the affairs of the kingdom, but their messengers were not called in.

"unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous, and therefore to be abolished," Feb. 7.

The new great seal<sup>c</sup> declared to be the great seal of England<sup>d</sup>, Feb. 8; the law courts opened<sup>e</sup>, Feb. 9; a council of state, consisting of 41 persons, appointed, Feb. 14<sup>f</sup>.

Colonels Blake, Dean, and Popham (already commissioners for the navy) nominated as admirals, Feb. 24.

The Scottish commissioners quit London secretly, Feb. 26, leaving behind them a paper containing "much

<sup>b</sup> The decrees of parliament were from Jan. 16, 1649, no longer styled Ordinances, but Acts; they were now issued in the name of the Commons only: "The Commons assembled in Parliament . . . do enact and ordain."

<sup>c</sup> This seal, which was voted Jan. 9, bore on one side the cross of St. George and the saltire of St. Patrick, with the inscription, "The Great Seal of England:" and on the other a representation of the House of Commons, with "In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored, 1648." The great seal made in 1643 (see p. 108) was brought into the House and broken up.

<sup>d</sup> Bulstrode Whitelock, Richard Keeble, and John Lisle were appointed commissioners.

Bulstrode Whitelock, the chief commissioner, was the son of Sir James Whitelock, a judge. He was born in London in 1605, was educated at Oxford, and though once a courtier, when chosen a member of the Long Parliament he concurred in most of their violent proceedings. He was one of the managers of the impeachment of the earl of Strafford, but he declined to do so with regard to Archbishop Laud, from the remembrance of kindness received from him at college. He was repeatedly employed in negotiations between the king and parliament, and under Cromwell was sent ambassador to Sweden. After the fall of Richard Cromwell, Whitelock urged Fleetwood to offer to restore the exiled king, and thus anticipate Monk, but his advice was not taken. Having acted a prominent part in the events of the preceding twenty years, he experienced some difficulty in procuring the omission of his name from the list of parties excepted from the Act of Oblivion (12 Car. II. c. 11); having succeeded in this, he appeared at court, apparently hoping for employment, but he was dismissed by the king himself, with the advice "to trouble himself no more with state affairs, but take care of his wife and large family." He, upon this, retired into Wiltshire, and lived in obscurity until his death, Nov. 12, 1688. He wrote, among other things, "Memorials of the English Affairs in the reign of King Charles I.," which, as the work of a well-informed contemporary, have been freely used by most subsequent writers on that period.

<sup>e</sup> Six of the judges consented to act, on an assurance that the ordinary laws should be maintained: but this pledge did not prevent the parliament from frequently acting as a court of judicature themselves, and also erecting arbitrary tribunals styled high courts of justice. The president of these was usually John Lisle, a lawyer, and one of the commissioners of the great seal. He acted so rigorously that he was obliged to flee at the Restoration; his estates were confiscated, and he was himself assassinated at Lausanne, August 11, 1664. His widow (Alice Lisle) was executed in 1685, on a charge of harbouring parties concerned in Monmouth's rebellion.

<sup>f</sup> It held its meetings at Derby House, Westminster, but Bradshaw, the President, was lodged in the Palace at Whitehall.



scandalous and reproachful matter" against the late proceedings<sup>†</sup>.

Lilburne and the Levellers petition against the new Council of State, Feb. 26.

The duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, and Lord Capel are executed<sup>‡</sup>, March 9.

Bradshaw appointed President of the Council of State<sup>§</sup>, March 10.

Several regiments are chosen by lot to assist in the reduction of Ireland, and after a time Cromwell is appointed to the command, being also named lord-deputy.

The kingly office, and the peerage, abolished by acts of parliament<sup>||</sup>, March 17, 19.

Pontefract Castle surrenders, March 21, after a siege of nearly ten months. Colonel Morris and four companions, being refused quarter, break through the enemy and escape<sup>¶</sup>.

Lilburne attacks the government in a vehement pamphlet, called "England's new Chains discovered;" he and several other Levellers are committed to the Tower, March 27.

The marquis of Huntley (George Gordon<sup>‡</sup>) is beheaded by order of the Scottish parliament, March 30.

Fairfax appointed commander-in-chief, March 31.

<sup>†</sup> Their intention was to proceed to Holland, to offer conditions to Charles II.; but they were seized at Gravesend, and sent under an escort to Scotland.

<sup>‡</sup> They had, together with the earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen, been condemned by a high court of justice which sat from Feb. 10 to March 6. The earl's life was saved by the casting-vote of the Speaker, and Sir John's by the exertions of Colonel Hutchinson, one of the Council of State, who observed that he appeared totally friendless, "while there was such mighty labour and endeavour for the lords."

<sup>§</sup> "He seemed not much versed in such businesses," says Whitelock, "and spent much of their time by his own long speeches."

<sup>||</sup> The lord-mayor of London (Sir Abraham Reynardson) refused to publish the Act against the kingly office; for which he was removed from the mayoralty, fined £2,000, and imprisoned in the Tower.

<sup>¶</sup> A promise had been given by Lambert that the governor should be safe from pursuit if he could escape to a distance of five miles, but he was nevertheless seized in Lancashire, condemned and executed at York in August following.

<sup>‡</sup> See A.D. 1644.

Prince Rupert, with the disaffected fleet<sup>a</sup>, makes many prizes in the Channel. He then threatens Dublin, but soon repairs to the harbour of Kinsale, where he is blockaded by Blake; he forces his way out, in October, and retires to Lisbon, where he sells his prizes.

The earl of Pembroke (Philip Herbert) takes his seat as a member of the parliament<sup>a</sup>, April 16.

The Levellers rise in arms in Oxfordshire, May 1. Fairfax and Cromwell disperse them with little trouble at Burford, May 15.

Dr. Dorislaus, the envoy of the Commonwealth, assassinated in Holland by the royalists, May 3.

England declared a "commonwealth and free state," only to be governed by the representatives of the people in parliament, and their ministers, without any King or House of Lords<sup>a</sup>, May 19.

Improprate tithes, first-fruits, and tenths vested in certain trustees for the support of "preaching ministers" and schoolmasters, June 8.

The personal estate of the royal family ordered to be sold, July 4.

Various offences declared treason, July 17. These were, to declare or publish the present government to be tyrannical, or that the Commons in Parliament are not the supreme authority, or to raise force against it; to raise mutiny, or invite foreigners or enemies to invade England or Ireland; to counterfeit the Great Seal, or to counterfeit or clip the coin. These offences were to be prosecuted within a year, and conviction as to coining was not to work corruption of blood. Attempts

<sup>a</sup> See A.D. 1648.

<sup>a</sup> The earl of Salisbury (William Cecil) and Lord Howard of Eskrick shortly after imitated his example.

<sup>a</sup> A declaration to this effect, called the Engagement, was tendered to all persons holding office, and was generally taken by them. An attempt was made to enforce it on all, but this had to be abandoned, though the law courts were open only to those who produced a certificate of their having taken it before some magistrate.

against the life of the Protector were added to the list of treasons in 1656, [Stat. No. 3].

The marquis of Ormond is defeated near Dublin, Aug. 2.

The Scotch parliament make overtures to Charles II., by an address, dated Aug. 7.

Cromwell lands in Ireland\* with a force of about 16,000 horse and foot, Aug. 15. He storms Drogheda, Sept. 11, and Wexford, Oct. 9, committing such butchery† as intimidates Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, and other strong posts into a speedy surrender.

Charles II. lands in Jersey, Sept. 17, and remains there till Feb. 13, 1650.

John Lilburne is tried on the new statute of treasons, but defends himself so vigorously that he is acquitted, after a two days' trial, Oct. 26. He is nevertheless remanded to the Tower, but is released, Nov. 8.

Scotch commissioners arrive in Jersey to treat with Charles II., Dec. 16.

**A.D. 1650.** The marquis of Montrose lands in the Orkneys, and erects the king's standard, in January‡. He circulates a declaration, calling on all Scotsmen to support him; this is, by order of the Scottish parliament, burnt by the hangman, Feb. 9.

The parliament takes the style of "*Parliamentum*

\* He was appointed lord-lieutenant, as well as general, by commission from the parliament, June 22, 1649.

† Cromwell thus describes his proceedings at Drogheda, in a letter to the parliament, dated Sept. 16, 1649: "It hath pleased God to bless our endeavours at Drogheda; after battery, we stormed it. The enemy were about 3,000 strong in the town. . . . We refused them quarter, having the day before summoned the town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives; those that did are in safe custody for Barbadoes. . . . This hath been a marvellous great mercy. . . . I do not believe, neither do I hear, that any officer escaped with his life, save only one lieutenant, who, I hear, going to the enemy, said that he was the only man that escaped of all the garrison. The enemy were filled upon this with much terror; and truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, through the goodness of God." The parliament ordered a thanksgiving service on learning the news.

‡ Some parties ventured to proclaim Charles II. about this time at Blandford, and at Durham, but no rising took place.

*Reipublica Anglia*, or "The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England," and forbids any other style to be used.

"The parliament," says Whitelock, "took upon them and exercised all manner of jurisdiction, and sentenced persons *secundum arbitrium*, which was disliked by many lawyers of the House (whereof I was one), and we shewed them the illegality and breach of liberty in those arbitrary proceedings, and advised them to refer such matters to the legal proceedings in ordinary courts of justice; but the dominion and power was sweet to some of them, and they were very unwilling to part with it."

Blake, being refused permission to attack Prince Rupert in the Tagus, makes reprisals on the Portuguese<sup>\*</sup>, March.

Montrose crosses into Caithness, but is defeated in Corbiesdale, April 27, captured shortly after, and brought before the parliament, May 20. He is hanged at Edinburgh, with many circumstances of insult and cruelty, May 21.

Ascham, the envoy to Spain, is assassinated at Madrid<sup>†</sup>, May 27.

Charles II. arrives in Scotland, June 16, the expectation of which had occasioned the recall of Cromwell from Ireland<sup>‡</sup>, where Ireton was left as deputy.

The parliament resolve to anticipate the expected attack from the Scots, by invading Scotland. Fairfax

\* The Portuguese lost many rich ships, and were forced to recompense damages done to English merchants and to make important commercial concessions, to avoid a war. Prince Rupert repaired to Spain, where he was attacked in the road of Malaga by Blake. He escaped with three ships, cruised about for a while longer, visiting the West Indies, and, returning in 1652, sold his two remaining vessels to France; his brother Prince Maurice perished at sea in the other.

† This murder was committed by some of the servants of Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon, who was then in Spain as an envoy of the king, and who in his letters avows his wish that "all the rebels' envoys may have their throats cut."

‡ He arrived in London, May 31, was received with much pomp, and on June 11 gave an account to the House of his Irish campaign.

refuses to lead the invading army, and lays down his commission<sup>†</sup>, June 25. Cromwell is in consequence appointed lord-general, June 26, and leaves London for the field, June 29.

Cromwell crosses the Tweed, July 16, and advances to Edinburgh, which is strongly fortified.

The Scots forbid the king to appear in their camp, and extort from him a declaration of his assent to the Covenant, Aug. 16.

The English royalists form associations, but are betrayed, and many officers and gentlemen are executed.

Cromwell, finding his army suffering from sickness, prepares to retreat. David Leslie<sup>‡</sup> is compelled, against his own judgment, to attack him at Dunbar, Sept. 3, when the Scots are totally defeated<sup>§</sup>. Edinburgh at once surrenders, but the castle holds out.

The princess Elizabeth dies a prisoner at Carisbrooke Castle, Sept. 8.

The king endeavours to escape from the Covenanters, in order to repair to the Highlands, Sept. 27. He is brought back, almost as a prisoner, to Perth<sup>¶</sup>, Oct. 6.

All law-books ordered to be translated into English, all legal documents to be in the same tongue, and written

<sup>†</sup> A committee, of which Whitelock was one, was appointed to wait on Fairfax, and endeavour to remove his scruples; "and none of the committee," he says, "were so earnest to persuade the general to continue his commission as Cromwell and the soldiers; yet there was cause enough to believe they did not over much desire it."

<sup>‡</sup> Sometimes called Lord Newark. He had served at Marston Moor, and defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh. See A.D. 1645.

<sup>§</sup> Near 4000 of the Scots were killed, with very slight loss to the English, and 10,000 prisoners taken, half of whom were at once released, and the rest sent into England. Many of these were confined in Durham Cathedral, where they tore down the banners taken at Flodden-field, and defaced the tomb of Lord Neville, who had commanded the English army at Neville's Cross, in 1346. The Presbyterians considered this as their own defeat, and refused to take part in the thanksgiving that was ordered by the Council of State.

<sup>¶</sup> According to Whitelock, on the authority of letters received by the Council of State, "the Scotch army was now full of factions: one are those whom the Scotch laboured to remove out of the army as 'sectaries': another faction is the 'old malignants,' who would be revenged for the death of Montrose and other malignants; others are against the kirk; others are the 'new malignants.'"

in an ordinary legible hand ; a committee also appointed to inquire into the salaries, fees, and unnecessary delays of the law, Oct. 25.

The royalists attempt a rising in Norfolk, but are defeated<sup>a</sup>, in November.

Edinburgh Castle surrenders<sup>b</sup>, Dec. 24.

A.D. 1651. Charles II. is crowned at Scone<sup>c</sup>, Jan. 1.

The Portuguese send an ambassador to excuse their sheltering Prince Rupert.

The Commonwealth endeavour, but without success, to form a close alliance with Holland<sup>d</sup>.

Twenty members of the Council of State displaced, and an equal number of new men chosen by ballot<sup>e</sup>, Feb. 11.

The Scilly Isles captured by Blake and Ayscue, May. A part of the fleet which had been employed against them sailed under Ayscue to the West Indies, where, before the end of the year, Barbadoes and the neighbouring islands were surrendered by Lord Willoughby of Parham<sup>f</sup>. Ayscue then steered for America,

<sup>a</sup> The attempt was on a very small scale, but a high court of justice was erected for the trial of prisoners, when, out of twenty-four who were tried, twenty were executed.

<sup>b</sup> "This," says Whitelock, "was related to be the first time that Edinburgh Castle was taken, being the strongest and best fortified and provided in Scotland."

<sup>c</sup> As might be expected, the ceremony "was not with much state," and it had been preceded by two solemn fasts, "one for the sins of the king and his family, the other for the sins of the kirk and state."

<sup>d</sup> Their ambassadors (St. John and Strickland) were insulted and menaced with assassination by the royalists. This was ascribed to the connivance of the States, and the negotiations were abruptly broken off.

<sup>e</sup> Bradshaw still continued president, with a salary of £2000 a-year, and all the chief men were, by some management, retained ; the changes were only among the inferior members.

<sup>f</sup> He had long been active on the parliamentary side, and when the army became mutinous in 1647 he endeavoured to oppose them, but failing in this he fled to Holland. Prince Charles made him his vice-admiral, and he commanded a fleet in the English seas that did much damage to his former associates. He was afterwards made governor of the West India colonies, and when he was obliged to surrender, he received very favourable terms, his estate, which had been long under sequestration, being restored to him. After the Restoration he returned to Barbadoes, and was accidentally drowned there in 1666.

where Virginia was reduced with equal facility, and the authority of the Commonwealth was at once established in the other plantations, though most of them, except New England, were principally colonized by fugitive royalists.

Christopher Love, a noted minister among the Presbyterians of London<sup>§</sup>, is convicted of correspondence with the royalists, June 5. He is executed<sup>h</sup>, with Mr. Gibbons, Aug. 22.

Cromwell passes the Forth, drives the Scots before him, and captures Perth, then the seat of government, Aug. 2.

Charles in the meanwhile announces his intention of entering England. He starts from Stirling, July 31, passes rapidly through Cumberland, Lancashire<sup>i</sup>, Cheshire, and Shropshire, to Worcester<sup>j</sup>, which he enters Aug. 22.

Cromwell follows with speed<sup>k</sup> from Scotland, leaving General Monk in command there.

The Council of State proclaim the king and his

<sup>§</sup> This man, born at Cardiff in 1618, was educated at Oxford, but went to Scotland, and received presbyterian ordination. Returning when the civil war broke out, he obtained a London living, where he became noted for his turbulence. He accompanied the parliamentary commissioners to Uxbridge, and by his furious sermons had some share in breaking off the conferences for peace held there in 1645. He was a member of the Assembly of Divines and minister of St. Lawrence Jewry, where he was buried. The Presbyterians spoke of him as a martyr, but the royalists considered him justly punished for the mischief he had formerly occasioned.

<sup>h</sup> He obtained a month's respite, in consequence of a petition from "divers ministers in and about London," praying the parliament, "if not totally to spare the life of our dear brother, yet to say of him, as Solomon of Abiathar, that at this time he should not be put to death." They also applied to Cromwell, but he declined to interfere. After the battle of Worcester, several other ministers were apprehended on a charge of having been concerned in Love's proceedings, but on making submission they were pardoned.

<sup>i</sup> His troops had a skirmish at Warrington with Lambert and Harrison, who endeavoured to delay their march that Cromwell might overtake them. The royalists knew this, and cried out as they charged, "Oh! you rogues, we will be with you before your Cromwell comes!"

<sup>j</sup> Comparatively few English joined him on his march, as they distrusted the Scots.

<sup>k</sup> His vanguard, of 4,000 foot, marched for several days at the rate of twenty miles a-day, their baggage and arms being carried by the country people.

adherents traitors, Aug. 25, and despatch forces from London to join Cromwell<sup>1</sup>.

The earl of Derby, endeavouring to join the king, is defeated by Colonel Robert Lilburne, at Wigan<sup>2</sup>, Aug. 25.

Cromwell reaches Worcester, Aug. 28. He repairs the bridges which the royalists had broken down, storms the forts, and at length gains a decisive victory<sup>3</sup>, Sept. 3.

The king flees in disguise, and, after many hazardous adventures, escapes to France, landing at Fécamp, Oct. 17. Great numbers of his followers are taken, who are sold into slavery in Africa<sup>4</sup> and America. The Presbyterians very generally refuse to observe the thanksgiving ordered for the victory.

Monk pursues the war in Scotland with vigour. He takes Stirling, where he seizes the regalia ; surprises

<sup>1</sup> A solemn fast was observed by the parliament, Aug. 26, and a letter from the king to the city of London was burnt by the common hangman.

<sup>2</sup> The earl, who had recently landed from the Isle of Man, though wounded, made his escape, but was taken after the battle of Worcester, and was beheaded at Bolton, Oct. 15 ; he died, Whitelock says, "with stoutness and Christian-like temper." An account of his death, published by his chaplain (H. Baggerly), who attended him on the scaffold, says, that just before he suffered he requested the block to be removed so that it might face the church ; and as he laid down his head he exclaimed, "I will look toward Thy sanctuary while here, O Lord, as I hope to live in Thy heavenly sanctuary for ever hereafter."

<sup>3</sup> Cromwell wrote a long letter to the parliament, part of which runs as follows. After informing them that he had taken prisoner "many officers of great quality, and some that will be fit subjects of your justice," he says, "The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts ; it is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy. Surely if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness, and the parliament to do the will of Him who hath done His will for it, and for the nation ; whose good pleasure is to establish the nation, and the change of the government, by making the people so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally to bless the endeavours of your servants in this late great work. I am bold humbly to beg that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of His honour who hath wrought so great salvation, and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen people. But that the fear of the Lord, even for His mercies, may keep an authority, and a people so prospered and blessed and witnessed to, humble and faithful, that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth, may flow from you, as a thankful return to our glorious God ; this shall be the prayer of, sir, your most humble and obedient servant, O. CROMWELL." The parliament ordered this letter to be read in all churches by the ministers, and resolved that an annual thanksgiving day should be held.

<sup>4</sup> Fifteen hundred of them were granted to the Guinea merchants and sent to perish in the mines.



and captures the estates of the kingdom when in session ; storms Dundee with great slaughter<sup>p</sup>, and reduces the country to subjection.

The council of officers of the army is re-established at Wallingford House<sup>q</sup>, Sept. 16.

Cromwell returns in triumph to London<sup>r</sup>, and takes up his residence in almost kingly state at Hampton Court, Oct. 12.

The Dutch send ambassadors to renew the negotiations ; they are haughtily received. An act is passed, which greatly affects Dutch commerce<sup>s</sup>, the honour of the flag is claimed<sup>t</sup>, letters of marque are granted to merchants who have received injuries, and compensation is demanded for the murders at Amboyna<sup>u</sup> and other offences of long standing.

The parliament propose to reduce the army, and fix the 3rd November, 1654, as the date of their own dissolution.

The isle of Guernsey is reduced in October, Man<sup>v</sup> in

<sup>p</sup> The whole garrison, of 800 men, was put to the sword, and 80 women likewise lost their lives. The plunder also was very great ; "some of the private soldiers," according to Whitelock's statement, "got in the storm £500 apiece."

<sup>q</sup> This assembly had been broken up by the exigencies of the war ; now that it was resumed, the parliament soon fell before it.

<sup>r</sup> Commissioners from the parliament were sent out beyond Aylesbury to meet him, and to them, in the insolence of victory, he presented, not only horses, but two of the Scottish prisoners, "gentlemen of good quality," to each, as "a present." Whitelock, who tells the tale, released his, but he does not lead us to believe that the other commissioners did so.

<sup>s</sup> This was the celebrated Navigation Act (numbered 22, and passed October 9, 1651,) which, with some exceptions, forbade the importation of goods, except in English vessels, or vessels of the country that produced them, under penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo. It annihilated the carrying trade of the Dutch as far as England was concerned, and its principle was considered so sound that it was re-enacted after the Restoration, [12 Car. II. c. 18].

<sup>t</sup> See A.D. 1634.

<sup>u</sup> See A.D. 1619.

<sup>v</sup> The island was surrendered in spite of the opposition of the widowed countess of Derby, who had successfully defended Latham House (see A.D. 1644). She was confined for a while, but two of her children dying in their prison, her spirit gave way, and she petitioned to be allowed to enter into a composition with the ruling powers, which was allowed, on very hard terms, in Sept. 1653. The island was granted to Sir Thomas Fairfax, but restored to the Stanleys by Charles II., when the countess procured the condemnation of William Christian ("a notable seaman of King James'

November, and Jersey in December; but some of the royal party, now styled "picaroons," or pirates, harass the coasts with small vessels, and make many prizes<sup>7</sup>.

**A.D. 1652.** The parliamentary commissioners<sup>8</sup> treat Scotland as a conquered country. Estates are confiscated, taxes imposed, the people disarmed, the preachers silenced, forts built and strongly garrisoned, and English judges are sent to administer the laws. Several conferences are held for the incorporation of the two countries into one commonwealth.

John Lilburne, being convicted of libelling the commissioners of sequestrations (Jan. 16), is, by act of parliament, sentenced to banishment for life. Many of his friends accompany him to the sea-side.

An act passed prohibiting the use of titles conferred since Jan. 4, 1642<sup>9</sup>.

An act of amnesty passed, Feb. 24. This, with some exceptions, pardoned all state offences prior to the battle of Worcester; and as it was granted at the desire of Cromwell, it gained him favour even among the royalists, and thus strengthened his hands against the parliament, which he was preparing to overthrow.

The Dutch war commences by Captain Young firing on the commander of a Dutch squadron, and compelling him to salute the English flag, May 14.

A battle is fought between the Dutch under Martin Tromp and the English under Blake and Bourn, off

time") who had been the chief instrument in the surrender of the island, maintaining that the Act of Oblivion did not extend to the Isle of Man. She died soon after, in 1663.

<sup>7</sup> They were about 25 in number, and they obtained £100,000 in prizes, with which they found shelter at Brest and other French ports. The Commonwealth ships in return captured French vessels, but open war between the two countries was avoided.

<sup>8</sup> They were Chief-justice St. John, Mr. Salloway, and Alderman Tichburne.

<sup>9</sup> The patents were to be brought in to be cancelled, under a penalty of £50. Peers were to pay £100, knights £40, if they continued the use of such titles; and persons giving them, either by speech or writing, were to incur a fine of 10s. for each offence.

Dover, May 19. The Dutch are defeated, and lose two ships.

The parliament refuse to listen to the Dutch ambassadors, who are sent to accommodate the dispute. War is declared July 8, and Blake captures a fleet of merchantmen, July 13.

The parliament endeavour to reduce the army. The council of officers, under the name of a petition, mark out a course of action for them (Aug. 13); and Cromwell devises a plan for their forcible dissolution.

Ayscue has an indecisive action with De Ruyter, off Plymouth, Aug. 16. The Dutch are totally defeated in the Downs by Blake and Penn, Sept. 28, and chased into their harbours.

Tromp appears in Dover roads, with a greatly superior fleet to that of Blake, Nov. 28. Blake's ships suffer severely, and are obliged to retreat into the Thames<sup>b</sup>.

During this time, "the parliament," Whitelock says, "were very busy in debate of several acts of parliament under consideration, but very little was brought to effect by them. The soldiers grumbled at their delays, and there began to be ill blood between them; the general and his officers pressed the putting a period to their sittings, which they promised to do, but were slow in that business."

The young duke of Gloucester is allowed to join his brothers, at the recommendation of Cromwell.

## IRELAND.

IRETON, who succeeded Cromwell in command of the parliamentary forces in Ireland, died of the plague in the same year (Nov. 26, 1650), but not before he had, by the capture of Limerick, all but terminated the war.

<sup>b</sup> The Dutch were so elated by this success, that Tromp carried a broom at his mast-head, in token of his intention to sweep the seas of the English; the insult was signally avenged shortly after.

About the same time the marquis of Ormond was obliged, by the clamour of the Irish, who attributed their ill-success to treachery, to withdraw, leaving as his deputy the marquis of Clanrickarde (Ulick Burke, a Romanist), who, collecting what remained of the Irish forces, defended Galway for a considerable time after the rest of the country had been reduced to submission<sup>c</sup>.

Ireland was now committed to the rule of four commissioners (Ludlow, Corbet, Jones, and Weaver), whose chief care was to dispossess the natives, and replace them by English settlers. Thousands were allowed to go into the service of foreign states; others (especially women and children) were shipped to the American plantations; those who were suffered to remain in the country were "transplanted" to Connaught; and the more fertile districts were partitioned between the soldiers in lieu of their arrears of pay, and the adventurers who had advanced money for the war<sup>d</sup>. The new settlers exerted themselves vigorously to improve their possessions; they rebuilt the towns, cultivated the fields, and in a short time effected a great change in the aspect of the country; a change facilitated by the appointment of Henry Cromwell, who, for a space of nearly five years (Aug. 1654, to June, 1659) exercised the supreme authority in a conciliatory spirit.

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**A.D. 1653.** The parliament, on the recommendation of the Council of State, take vigorous measures to retrieve their late failure at sea<sup>e</sup>, January.

<sup>c</sup> It surrendered July 10, 1652, on terms similar to those granted to Limerick. In each case most of the defenders were allowed to enter into some foreign service. Clanrickarde retired to England, where he died shortly after.

<sup>d</sup> See A.D. 1642.

<sup>e</sup> They gave a month's pay as bounty; advanced subsistence-money for the families of the seamen; granted 40s. per ton and £6 per gun for every ship taken, and £10 per gun for every vessel burnt or sunk; and established hospitals at Dover, Deal, and Sandwich, with funds for their sup-

Ambassadors arrive from France, Spain, and Sweden, to treat for alliances and commercial treaties.

The Dutch fleet, under Tromp, is attacked by Blake, off Portland, Feb. 18. The fight is continued for three days across the channel to Blanquenez (near Boulogne); the Dutch, having suffered great loss, escape, in the night, into the Scheldt.

Admiral Bodley has a severe but indecisive action with the Dutch fleet, near Elba, March 3.

The council of officers have great differences with the parliament as to the constitution of the new legislature. At length Cromwell appears in the House, with a strong guard, and expels the members, April 20.

Cromwell forms a Council of State, consisting of himself and eight other officers, and four civilians, April 30, by which a new parliament is called, June 8.

Tromp sails into Dover roads, in the absence of the English fleet, and fires on the town, May 28.

The Dutch are again defeated, near the North Foreland, June 2 and 3, and obliged to take refuge at the Texel. They are blockaded there by Monk and Penn<sup>†</sup>, and Tromp, endeavouring to put to sea, is himself killed, and his fleet almost totally destroyed<sup>‡</sup>, July 31.

Lilburne returns from banishment, June 14. By order

port, and for the relief of the sick or wounded who could not be removed from the fleet. "These and other encouragements," says Whitelock, "caused the seamen to come flocking into the service of the parliament; and although the Hollanders had prohibited the importing of pitch, tar, hemp, and other materials of navigation by any nation whatsoever, into England, a placard of sufficient insolency, yet the Council of State had provided sufficient stores, and had prepared and equipped a gallant navy."

<sup>†</sup> Blake was ill on shore, and Deane had been killed in the first day's fight.

<sup>‡</sup> Some few of Monk's letters relative to this war have been preserved, and they shew how readily he could adapt himself to the phraseology of Cromwell and his friends. In May he was cruising in search of Tromp, and he concludes a letter with, "Pray for us, that we may be carried out with the power and spirit of the Lord;" and when relating this victory, he says, "Great was the Lord, and marvellous, worthy to be praised by His appearance in our behalf. There were sunk five, and taken of them about thirty or forty sail . . . and I am in good hopes that the same mighty presence of the Lord will still follow us to the disabling, taking, or destroying of some more yet."

of Cromwell he is tried<sup>b</sup>, but is acquitted by the jury<sup>1</sup>, Aug. 20.

The parliament<sup>k</sup> meets, July 4. Cromwell devolves the supreme authority to them until Nov. 3, 1654, when they were to be succeeded by a new assembly.

The General Assembly of the Scottish kirk dispersed by the English soldiers, July 25.

Marriages ordered to be solemnized by the justices of the peace<sup>l</sup>, and no other mode allowed to be valid, Aug. 24.

<sup>b</sup> The London apprentices petitioned the Parliament in his favour, for which six of their number were imprisoned.

<sup>1</sup> During the trial an attempt to rescue Lilburne was expected, and three regiments were kept under arms to prevent it. His partisans scattered about tickets, with an inflammatory distich,—

“And what, shall then honest John Lilburne die?  
Threescore thousand will know the reason why.”

Van de Perre, one of the Dutch commissioners who were sent to negotiate for a peace, was in London at the time, and he says,—“There were six or seven hundred men at his trial, with swords, pistols, bills, daggers, and other instruments, that in case they had not cleared him they would have employed in his defence. The joy and acclamation was so great after he was cleared, that the shout was heard an English mile, as is said.” The jury were summoned before the council, and threatened for their verdict, and Lilburne was carried to the Tower, guarded by a troop of horse, at 3 in the morning of Sunday, August 27.

<sup>k</sup> It consisted of 122 members for England, 6 for Wales, 5 for Scotland, and 6 for Ireland, and is ordinarily known by the name of “Barebones’ Parliament,” from a play on the name of one of its members (Praise-God Barbon, a leather-seller of London, and one of its seven representatives). They chose Francis Rous for their speaker, and, on his proposition, invited Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, Desborough, and Tomlinson to take seats in the assembly.

Rous was a Devonshire man, educated at Broadgates Hall, Oxford. He sat in the several parliaments under Charles I., and had evinced a most bitter feeling against the Church, for which he was rewarded by the Long Parliament with the provostship of Eton College on the ejection of Dr. Richard Stewart; he was also one of the lay members of the Assembly of Divines, and he wrote several works, one of which (a metrical translation of the Psalms) was printed by the order of the House of Commons. Rous advocated in the present assembly a government in imitation of the theocratic rule of the Jews (he was henceforth nicknamed “the old Jew of Eton”), and finding this distasteful to his colleagues, advised the surrender of their powers to Cromwell, whom he affected to consider as greater than Moses and Joshua combined. He died in October, 1657, and was buried with much pomp in the college chapel.

<sup>l</sup> This act was distasteful to many, and real compliance with it was often avoided, by having the ceremony performed by the minister, whilst the justice merely stood by as a witness. Stephen Marshall, a well-known Presbyterian, married his daughter soon after the passing of the Act, according to the Liturgy, and then paid a fine of £5 for using any other form than that in the Directory. See pp. 41, 136.

The parliament, which had been chosen by Cromwell and his officers from lists of persons "faithful, fearing God, and hating covetousness," furnished to them by the various churches, contained some men who shewed little inclination to forward his views. Advised by them, it proposed to reform abuses in every department, to abolish unnecessary offices, enforce economy, improve the administration of the law, and do away with tithes, providing instead a fixed maintenance for the clergy. Matters of a widely different character, however, were among the projects of the Anabaptists<sup>m</sup> who formed the great majority, and they passed the time until December in discussing them. On the 13th of that month Sydenham, an Independent, having mustered his friends before many of the other party had arrived, suddenly proposed, with the concurrence of the Speaker, that the parliament (which he described as useless and injurious to the Commonwealth) should resign its power into the hands of Cromwell. This he and his friends at once proceeded to do, and the few dissentients were expelled by a company of soldiers.

Cromwell professed to decline the offer, but on the writing containing it being signed by a majority of the House, he consented, and an Instrument of Government was drawn up, which was solemnly published in Westminster Hall, whereby Oliver Cromwell was received as "His Highness the Lord Protector," Dec. 16.

Beside bestowing this dignity on Cromwell, the chief provisions of the Instrument were, that there should be triennial parliaments of 460 members; a council of 21 members; and a standing army of 30,000 men; also that taxes should be imposed and laws made only by the parliament. But as the meeting of this parliament was not to take place until Sept. 3, 1654, power was

<sup>m</sup> They proposed to destroy the records in the Tower and elsewhere, styling them "badges of slavery," and to dispense with laws and magistrates, as not needed by the Saints

given to the Lord Protector and his council during the interval to do all acts necessary for the public service, and to make ordinances, which should have the force of laws.

**A.D. 1654.** The Protector's elevation is repugnant to many of his former adherents. Some of the more prominent are committed to the Tower<sup>a</sup>. The royalists also plot against him, but are betrayed by spies<sup>b</sup>.

Middleton takes the command of the royalists in Scotland<sup>c</sup>, February.

Peace is concluded with Holland<sup>d</sup>, April 5.

Scotland is declared incorporated with England, by an ordinance of the Protector, April 12, and General Monk appointed to the chief command.

Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, is beheaded on Tower-hill for murder<sup>e</sup>, July 10.

<sup>a</sup> Among them were Harrison, formerly his intimate associate, and Feakes and Powell, two Anabaptist preachers, who had, at the council-board, charged him to his face with aspiring to absolute power.

<sup>b</sup> The Protector, through the management of his secretary, John Thurloe, contrived by these means to get information of the most secret resolves of the king and his council. Thurloe, born in 1616, the son of an Essex clergyman, was a lawyer, and acted as secretary to the parliamentary commissioners at Oxford, and in the same capacity accompanied St. John and others to Holland in 1651. Oliver Cromwell appointed him secretary of state, and he held the same post under Richard. When he saw the Restoration approaching he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the royalists, but he was distrusted and his services declined; he was for a short time imprisoned, and then retired to Milton, in Oxfordshire, where he died in 1668. His State Papers have been published, and they attest his great powers for business of the most diversified kinds, and afford much valuable information.

<sup>c</sup> They took arms in the July of the preceding year under the earl of Glencairn, but feuds broke out among them, and Middleton was sent to appease their dissensions. Some few English royalists joined them, particularly Captain Wogan, who made his way through England with a small party of cavalry disguised as parliamentarians; he was killed soon after he reached Scotland.

<sup>d</sup> The Dutch were obliged to agree to give no shelter or assistance to the royalists. They also conceded the honour of the flag, and agreed to restore the island of Poleroon, and to pay a sum of above £270,000 as compensation to the East India Company, the Baltic merchants, and the heirs of the sufferers at Amboyna (see A.D. 1619). They lost above 1,200 vessels in the course of this short war, but they contrived to evade delivering up Poleroon.

<sup>e</sup> The circumstances of this case are very remarkable. In November, 1653, Don Pantaleon had a quarrel at the New Exchange in the Strand, with Col. Gerard, a royalist, and would have murdered him but for the



Mr. Vowell is hanged at Charing-cross, and Col. Gerard beheaded on Tower-hill, for a plot against the life of the Protector, July 10.

Monk breaks up the Scottish Assembly, July 20, and shortly after entirely disperses the royalist forces under Middleton<sup>3</sup>.

The Protector's parliament is opened by him with much state, Sept. 4<sup>1</sup>. They manifest a design to question his authority, when he summons them before him, and justifies his conduct, Sept. 12. They are required to sign an instrument pledging themselves not to attempt any alteration in the form of the government "as it is settled in one single person and a parliament;" about one-fourth of the number refuse, and are in consequence excluded.

The parliament still continues uncompliant. A motion to make the office of Protector hereditary in the family of Cromwell is negatived by a majority of two-thirds, Oct. 13.

Five hundred Irish land in the Hebrides, in November, when many of the Highland clans which had submitted resume their arms.

John Biddle, a Socinian, is imprisoned by the parliament<sup>2</sup>, Dec. 13.

interposition of Mr. Anstruther, a bystander. On the following day Don Pantaleon returned, with about fifty armed attendants, and mistaking a Colonel Mayo for Anstruther, killed him, as also a Mr. Greenaway, who chanced to be walking in the building. The Portuguese ambassador endeavoured to screen the murderers, but Cromwell, who in the interim had become Protector, refused to listen to him, had them tried by a special commission, executed Don Pantaleon and one of his party who was an Englishman, and pardoned the rest. By a strange coincidence, his intended victim, Gerard, was executed at the same place, and on the same day.

<sup>1</sup> Many of the prisoners were sold as slaves to the planters of Barbadoes. This greatly enraged the Highlanders, who, having afterwards taken some English soldiers, murdered them, telling them "they had no Barbadoes to send them to."

<sup>2</sup> The meeting of the parliament had been fixed for September 3, as the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester. That day fell this year on Sunday, and the House assembled in Westminster Abbey and heard a sermon. Lenthall, the Speaker of the Long Parliament, was Speaker.

<sup>3</sup> Further steps would have been taken against him but for the dissolution

A.D. 1655. Two large fleets sail on secret expeditions. Blake proceeds with one to the Mediterranean; the other, under Penn and Venables, repairs to the West Indies.

The Protector dismisses the parliament in anger, Jan. 31.

The republicans plot against the Protector. Many of their leading men are seized and imprisoned<sup>2</sup>.

The royalists make abortive risings in several counties. Sir Joseph Wagstaff surprises the judges at Salisbury, Sunday, March 11. He proposes to hang them, but to this his followers will not agree. Troops being sent against them, they retreat to South Molton, in Devonshire, where they are forced to surrender.

The Protector deals leniently with the republicans, but treats the royalists with extreme severity<sup>3</sup>.

Rigorous ordinances are made, by which one-tenth<sup>4</sup> of the property of the royalists is seized; and the sufferers are obliged, beside, to find security for their peaceable behaviour. The clergy are forbidden to act as schoolmasters (the only resource left to the majority);

of the parliament. Upon that event he was released, but he was soon again seized, and sent to the Isles of Scilly, receiving for his support from the Protector a weekly pension of 10s., commencing Jan. 1, 1656. He was not set at liberty at the Restoration, but was brought to London, and died in Newgate, Sept. 20, 1662.

<sup>2</sup> One Major Wildman drew up a paper entitled "The Declaration of the free and well-affected People of England now in arms against the Tyrant, Oliver Cromwell, Esq.," in which his hypocrisy, tyranny, and selfishness are denounced in vehement language; and Whitelock confesses that "many who viewed this Declaration knew there was too much of truth in it."

<sup>3</sup> Many were executed, and a still greater number sold for slaves to the planters in the West Indies. Arundel Penruddock, the widow of Colonel John Penruddock, one of the parties executed, however, had £200 granted to her out of his personal estate (March 23, 1657), "for the benefit of the younger son and five daughters of the said John." After the Restoration she petitioned for a licence for making glasses, and stated that, beside the loss of her husband, her family had suffered to the amount of £15,000 in the royal cause.

<sup>4</sup> This measure, usually known as the decimation of the royalists, was extended to all who had ever borne arms for the king, or had avowed themselves of his party, without any regard to compositions or pardons, and without any inquiry whether they had or had not been concerned in the recent risings.

and the country is divided into fourteen districts, each ruled by a major-general with all but absolute power.

Blake enforces reparation for damages to English commerce from the grand duke of Tuscany<sup>a</sup>, and chastises the Barbary pirates; but cruises in vain for the Spanish treasure-ships.

Penn and Venables recruit their forces among the royalist refugees in the West Indies. They make an unsuccessful attempt on Hispaniola, in April, but capture Jamaica, in May.

Lord Willoughby of Parham, formerly governor of Barbadoes, and other royalists, committed to the Tower, June.

Several ministers are "transported into Ireland to preach the Gospel<sup>b</sup>," June, July.

A part of the fleet from the West Indies returns in September, when the commanders are at once committed to the Tower<sup>c</sup>.

The council forbid any person to publish in print any matter of public news or intelligence without leave and approbation of the secretary of state<sup>d</sup>, Oct.

A committee of trade appointed<sup>e</sup>, Nov. 2.

A treaty of alliance is concluded with France, having for its object a joint war against Spain, Oct. 24. One article provides that Charles II. shall no longer be suffered to reside in France; he and his brother, the duke of York, in consequence retire to Flanders.

<sup>a</sup> The sum of £60,000 was exacted.

<sup>b</sup> Such is the expression in the letters of privy seal: some received £100, others £50, for their outfit.

<sup>c</sup> They were released in a short time. Even before their return Cromwell had taken steps to render their conquest (Jamaica) valuable by sending settlers thither. As early as June 6, 1655, money was issued to prepare additional land forces, and in July he sent twelve ships with a regiment of soldiers to secure the island, which afforded a good position for future attacks on the Spanish dominions.

<sup>d</sup> This post was now held by Thurloe.

<sup>e</sup> "This," Whitelock, one of its members, remarks, "was a business of much importance to the commonwealth, and the Protector was earnestly set upon it."

Manning<sup>f</sup>, one of Thurloe's spies, is detected, and shot by order of Charles II., Dec.

A proposition for the re-admission of the Jews into England<sup>g</sup> is discussed by the council, and by committees of divines and lawyers, but nothing is concluded<sup>h</sup>.

A.D. 1656. Colonel Sexby, one of the Levellers, is employed by the Spaniards to get up a rebellion against the Protector. They also negotiate with Charles II., and take his brother, the duke of York, into their service.

The exactions of the majors-general occasion much discontent, and the Protector is obliged to summon a parliament.

A part of the Spanish treasure-fleet<sup>i</sup> is captured off Cadiz, by one of Blake's captains, Sept. 9.

The Protector's second<sup>k</sup> parliament meets, Sept. 17; Sir Thomas Widdrington, speaker. Many of the persons elected are arbitrarily excluded by the council<sup>l</sup>.

The parliament sentence James Naylor, a quaker, to severe punishment as a blasphem<sup>m</sup>, Dec. 17.

The Protector successfully interferes<sup>n</sup> with the

<sup>f</sup> He was in the service of Hyde, who was in reality the prime minister of the exiled king, and was thus able to transmit important intelligence to his employers. Anne Manning, his widow, received a pension of 20s. a-week, from the Protector, by letter of privy seal, dated Oct. 31, 1656.

<sup>g</sup> For their expulsion, see Part II., A.D. 1291.

<sup>h</sup> They, however, ventured to come in small numbers, and were not disturbed, though avowedly only on sufferance.

<sup>i</sup> Major-general Kelsey was paid £230 by privy seal of Jan. 19, 1657, "for so much by him disbursed for coach-hire and other charges, in bringing up the Spanish plate from Portsmouth to London."

<sup>k</sup> Or third, if the Barebones' parliament is reckoned.

<sup>l</sup> Among them were Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury), and Sir Harbottle Grimston, who became Speaker of the Convention which recalled Charles II., and was afterwards Master of the Rolls. These and others published a Remonstrance, in which they denounced those who sat without them as "betrayers of the liberties of England, and adherents to the capital enemies of the commonwealth."

<sup>m</sup> He was to be pilloried, whipped, branded with "B" for Blasphemer, and his tongue bored with a red-hot iron; then to be imprisoned, debarred from company, pen, ink, and paper, and kept to hard labour for his subsistence. He was released by the restored Long Parliament, Sept. 8, 1659.

<sup>n</sup> The agent employed was Samuel Morland, a man of doubtful character and versatile talents, to whom some have ascribed the invention of the steam-engine. He was born about 1625, in Berkshire, was educated at

duke of Savoy (Charles Emanuel II.) on behalf of the Vaudois.

The Protector establishes a lifeguard of 160 men.

A.D. 1657. A committee appointed by the parliament to consider of the translation of the Bible<sup>o</sup>, Jan. 16.

Syndercombe, an agent of Sexby, attempts to assassinate the Protector, Jan. 19. He is tried and condemned, Feb. 9, but dies in prison, Feb. 13.

A proposition is made in the parliament to give the title of King to Cromwell, Feb. 23. After considerable debate, an instrument called the Humble Petition and Advice is agreed to, March 25, which provides that the Protector shall govern "with a higher title," and "with the advice of two houses of parliament." Lambert and other officers strenuously oppose this, and at length Cromwell declines the title, May 8.

A charter, with ample powers, granted to the East India Company, March 16.

The Anabaptists attempt a rising in London, but are speedily suppressed<sup>p</sup>, April 9.

Blake destroys a fleet of Spanish treasure-ships at Santa Cruz, April 20.

A patent is granted (May 15) for the erection of a third university, at Durham.

Cambridge, and was one of Whitelock's retinue on his embassy to Sweden. He resided for a while at Geneva, and printed a History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont. He was confidentially employed by Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary, but at length fled to Charles II., to whom he divulged a plot said to have been formed to assassinate him. The information was probably false, but Morland was knighted, and he continued in favour after the Restoration, being prized by the king for his mechanical abilities, of which many singular stories are related. In his latter years he became blind, and he died in 1696.

<sup>o</sup> Whitelock says, "This committee often met at my house [at Chelsea], and had the most learned men in the Oriental tongues to consult with in this great business, and divers excellent and learned observations of some mistakes in the translations of the Bible in English; which yet was agreed to be the best of any translation in the world. I took pains in it, but it became fruitless by the parliament's dissolution." Among the members of this committee were Ralph Cudworth, and Brian Walton, who about the same time published his invaluable Polyglot Bible.

<sup>p</sup> Harrison, who was to have been their leader, had been seized the night before, and sent to the Tower.

Troops are sent to act with the French against the Spaniards, May.

The Humble Petition and Advice (giving Cromwell only the title of Lord Protector, but allowing him to name his successor, and to create a House of Peers,) is presented to the Protector, and accepted by him, May 26.

Cromwell is inaugurated as Lord Protector, with much pomp<sup>¶</sup>, June 26. The parliament adjourns the same day.

Lambert refuses to take the oath to Cromwell, and is deprived of his post of general of the army.

Mardyke is captured by the English and French, Sept. 23.

Sexby comes into England<sup>†</sup>, is seized, and soon after dies in the Tower.

A.D. 1658. The parliament meets, Jan. 20, being, in virtue of a provision in the Humble Petition and Advice, divided into two Houses. The new-made peers<sup>‡</sup>, however, are not recognised by the commoners, and the parliament is dissolved, Feb. 4.

The marquis of Ormond visits England, and endeavours to prepare for a rising of the royalists in connexion with an invasion by the king from Flanders, Jan. and Feb. The design becomes known, and the Flemish coast is blockaded by an English fleet.

Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewitt are executed as concerned in the intended rising, June 8.

<sup>¶</sup> The coronation chair was brought from Westminster Abbey to the Hall for the occasion, its only known removal.

<sup>†</sup> He had distributed thousands of a pamphlet entitled, "Killing no Murder," (probably written by Captain Titus, a royalist,) in which the assassination of the Protector was recommended; and he was supposed to come prepared to carry his doctrine into execution.

<sup>‡</sup> They were sixty in number. Among them were Richard and Henry Cromwell; the earls of Cassilis, Manchester, Mulgrave, and Warwick, and Viscount Say and Sele; Monk and Montagu (afterwards duke of Albemarle and earl of Sandwich); Lords Broghill, Fauconberg (Cromwell's son-in-law), and Wharton; Viscounts Howard and Lisle; Sir Arthur Haselrigge, and two other baronets; Whitelock, Glyn, and other lawyers; Desborough, the two Fleetwoods, Pride, Skippon, and Tomlinson.

The English and French defeat the Spaniards at Dunkirk, June 4. The town is taken, June 17, and given up to the English, and Flanders is overrun.

The Protector falls ill, early in August. He dies, Sept. 3, at Whitehall. His public funeral is celebrated with great pomp in the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster<sup>1</sup>, Nov. 23.

Richard Cromwell is declared Protector by the council, Sept. 3.

Fleetwood and the other officers begin to combine against him. To conciliate them, Lambert is restored to the command of the army, Oct. 14.

A parliament is summoned, in order to counteract the hostility of the army, Nov. 30.

A.D. 1659. The parliament meets, Jan. 29; Chaloner Chute, Speaker. Not above half the new-made peers attend.

"A representation," says Whitelock, "was signed by all the officers of the army (April 6), and afterwards presented to his highness (Richard), setting forth their want of pay, the insolencies of the enemies, and their designs, together with some in power, to ruin the army and the good old cause, and to bring in the enemies thereof; to prevent which, and to provide against free quarter, they desire his highness to advise with the parliament, and to provide effectual remedy. Now there being nothing done hereupon, the army began to speak high and threatening.

"This was the beginning of Richard's fall, and set on foot by his relations—Desborough who married his aunt, and Fleetwood who married his sister, and others of their party; and the parliament disputed about the other House, but took no course to provide money, but

<sup>1</sup> His body had been already buried there, Sept. 20. After the Restoration it was, to the disgrace of the Convention parliament, torn from its grave, and exposed on the gibbet.

exasperated the army, and all those named of the other House."

The army forms several councils, which the parliament votes illegal. After some delay the Protector, on a promise of military support, dissolves the parliament, April 22.

Fleetwood and the officers come to an agreement with the republicans, and by their wish recall the members of the Long Parliament dispersed by Cromwell<sup>2</sup>, who re-assemble May 7. The members expelled in 1648<sup>2</sup> in vain claim admission.

"The great officers of the army," says Whitelock, "were advised to consider better of their design of bringing in the members of the old parliament, who were most of them discontented for their being formerly broken up by Cromwell, and did distaste the proceedings of the army, and whether this would not probably more increase the divisions, and end in bringing in of the king; but the officers had resolved on it."

A Committee of Safety appointed, May 9; "most of them soldiers, except Vane and Scott," says Whitelock; "and ordered that all officers should be such as feared God and were faithful to the cause."

A Council of State, of thirty-one members, appointed, May 13; consisting of Lord Fairfax<sup>3</sup>, Lambert, Desborough, and twelve other soldiers; and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper<sup>4</sup>, Bradshaw, Whitelock, and thirteen other civilians.

<sup>2</sup> See A.D. 1653.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> His appointment was merely nominal, and he did not attend its sittings.

<sup>5</sup> He was born in 1621, was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, and for a short time studied the law. On the breaking out of the civil war, he professed himself a royalist, but taking offence at the behaviour of Prince Maurice, he soon joined the Parliament, was an active man under the Commonwealth, and was employed by Cromwell, but was excluded from his second parliament. He entered into the plans for the king's restoration, was in consequence made a peer, and chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards created earl of Shaftesbury. He held the office of lord-chan-



The armies in Ireland, Scotland, and Flanders, and the fleet, signify their adhesion to this revolution, which displaces Richard Cromwell<sup>a</sup>.

Richard, in reply to the parliament, expresses his willingness to retire from office, May 25.

Fleetwood appointed lieutenant-general of the forces, June 4.

Henry Cromwell resigns the government of Ireland to the commissioners of the parliament, June 15.

The parliament endeavour to remodel the army, and thus lose their support. The royalists seize the opportunity for a rising. Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Middleton appear in arms, and surprise Chester, early in August. They are defeated by Lambert at Nantwich, Aug. 19, which prevents a projected landing in Kent by the duke of York.

Fresh quarrels occur between the parliament and the army. Fleetwood and others are voted out of their commands, Oct. 12. They instead expel the parliament, Oct. 13, and re-assume the government, managing it by a Committee of Safety<sup>b</sup>, Oct. 23.

Monk prepares to march into England, under pretence of restoring the parliament<sup>c</sup>. Lambert is de-

cellor for a year, and when dismissed became a vehement opponent of the court, and laboured earnestly to exclude the duke of York from the succession, for which purpose he encouraged the belief in the Popish Plot. Shaftesbury is stigmatized under the name of Achanizabel by Dryden, and he was evidently one of the most daring and unprincipled of political adventurers. His schemes, however, met with deserved failure. He was twice imprisoned in the Tower, and, warned by a narrow escape from trial for treason, he withdrew to Holland, where he shortly after died, Jan. 22, 1683.

<sup>a</sup> His authority entirely ceased when he dissolved the parliament, in April, but he was allowed to remain at Whitehall until August, when his debts (amounting to £29,642) were paid, and a present in ready money being made to him, he withdrew to the Continent.

<sup>b</sup> This consisted of twenty-three members, of whom Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough were the chief; Whitelock was prevailed on to join it, in order to counteract the designs of Vane and others, "who," he says, "had a design to overthrow magistracy, ministry, and the law."

<sup>c</sup> He had already written to the officers of the army expressing his dissatisfaction with their proceedings. Commissioners were sent to him to

spatched against him, but suffers himself to be amused with negotiations ; meanwhile his troops desert him.

Riots occur in London, and the parliament is re-instated, Dec. 26.

A.D. 1660. Lord Broghill and Colonel Coote<sup>d</sup> seize the castle of Dublin, expel the parliamentary commissioners, and make a tender of the services of the Protestants in Ireland to the exiled king.

Monk is joined by Lord Fairfax at York, early in January. He marches on London, where he arrives Feb. 3, and occupies the city with his troops.

An Engagement agreed on "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, and the government thereof in the way of commonwealth and free state, without a king, single person, or House of Lords ;" Feb. 13.

The excluded members of parliament are reinstated, with William Lenthall as Speaker, by desire of Monk, Feb. 21.

The parliament, consisting now mainly of presbyterians and concealed royalists, appoint a Council of State favourable to the king, and release Sir George Booth and other prisoners, Feb. 22.

Monk appointed captain-general and commander-in-chief of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ire-

bring about an accommodation, "but they could have nothing but general and uncertain answers from him."

<sup>d</sup> Coote commanded in the north of Ireland. He was the son of Sir Charles Coote, who was killed in opposing the rebels in 1642, and was himself created earl of Mountrath. Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, a younger son of the first earl of Cork, had also served against the rebels, but being taken by the parliament forces he was, like Monk, induced to join them, and he had now the whole of the south of Ireland at his disposal. His services were rewarded with the title of earl of Orrery ; he took a considerable part in the affairs of Ireland under Charles II., and died in the year 1679, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Lord Broghill was a man of letters, and his works are still regarded as valuable.

\* This had been voted by the parliament, Sept. 3, 1659, during their quarrel with the army, but would appear not to have been enforced ; it was now again voted, and Monk professed to acquiesce in it. It was, after the Restoration, burnt by the hangman, like the Solemn League and Covenant.

land, Feb. 25. He is also, in conjunction with Montagu<sup>f</sup>, appointed to command the navy, March 3.

The Engagement repudiated, and all orders for taking it discharged, March 13.

The royalists shew themselves openly. Many ministers pray for the king by name; he is also proclaimed in some places.

The parliament dissolves itself, March 16, after appointing a new assembly (or Convention) to meet on April 25.

Lambert escapes from the Tower<sup>g</sup>, April 11, and endeavours to rekindle the war. He is defeated near Daventry, April 21, and retaken.

The Convention parliament meets April 25; Sir Harbottle Grimston, Speaker. It consists of two Houses, the peers taking their seats without opposition<sup>h</sup>.

A letter from the king<sup>i</sup> is delivered to both Houses<sup>j</sup>, May 1. It is received with joy, and he is invited to return to his kingdoms.

<sup>f</sup> Edward Montagu, the grandson of Lord Montagu of Boughton, was born in 1625. He raised a regiment in the associated counties for the Parliament, and, though still a youth, fought at its head at Marston-moor and at Naseby. In 1652 he became one of the council of state, and was soon after appointed an admiral. Montagu warmly embraced the cause of Charles II., and was by him created earl of Sandwich. He took possession of Tangier for England, chastised the Barbary corsairs, and served in both the wars against the Dutch, in the last of which he perished, in the battle of Solebay, May 28, 1672.

<sup>g</sup> He had been called on by the council to give security for his peaceable behaviour, and was committed on his refusal, March 6.

<sup>h</sup> The members of Cromwell's "other House" (see A.D. 1658) of course did not appear.

<sup>i</sup> It was brought by Sir John Grenville, the son of Sir Bevil Grenville, the Cornish commander, and who had himself defended the Scilly Isles against Blake. After the Restoration he was, in memory of his father's services as well as his own, created Viscount Grenville of Lansdown and earl of Bath. He died Aug. 22, 1701.

<sup>j</sup> "By this declaration [from Breda, dated April 4], the king grants a free general pardon to all that shall lay hold of it within forty days, except such as the parliament shall except, and a liberty to tender consciences, and that none be questioned for difference of opinion in matters of religion that do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; that differences, and all things relating to grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament; and he will consent to acts for that purpose, and for satisfaction of the arrears to Monk's officers and soldiers, and they to be received into his Majesty's service and pay."

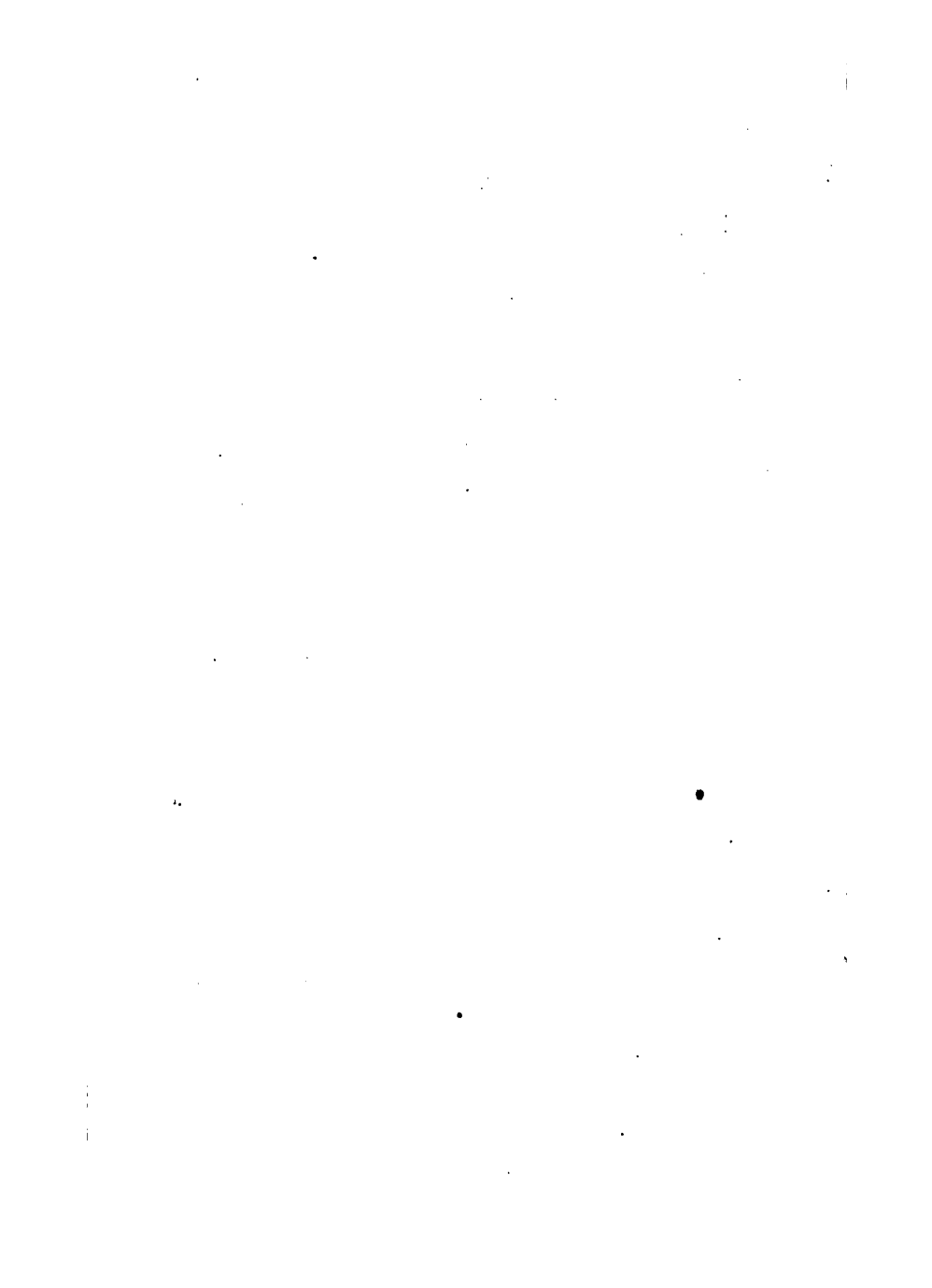
Montagu and the fleet declare for the king<sup>1</sup>, early in May, and sail to Holland to take him on board.

Charles II. is proclaimed by order of the parliament, May 8<sup>1</sup>. Commissioners are sent to Holland to wait on him<sup>2</sup>. He lands at Dover, May 25, where he is received by Monk, and enters London in triumph, on his birthday, Tuesday, May 29.

<sup>1</sup> Montagu himself fired the first gun, and cried "God save the king!"

<sup>2</sup> Notices of this are to be found in many parish registers, and one entry at least shews that the incumbent returned to the use of the Liturgy without delay. In the register of Whitworth, Durham, we read, "Charles II. proclaimed at London, May 8th, and at Durham, 12th May, 1660, on which day, I, Stephen Hogg, began to use again the Book of Common Prayer."

<sup>3</sup> They were six lords and twelve commoners; fourteen citizens and ten presbyterian ministers accompanied them. The peers were, the earls of Middlesex, Oxford, and Warwick; Viscount Hereford; and Lords Berkeley and Brooke. The commoners were, the Lords Bruce, Castleton, Fairfax, Falkland, Herbert, and Mandeville; Sir George Booth, Sir A. A. Cooper, Sir Henry Cholmeley, and Sir Horatio Townsend; John Holland and Denzil Holles.



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